California Journal
Analysis of State Government and Politics
APRIL 1984/$2.50

Special section: Ballot propositions

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* BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK

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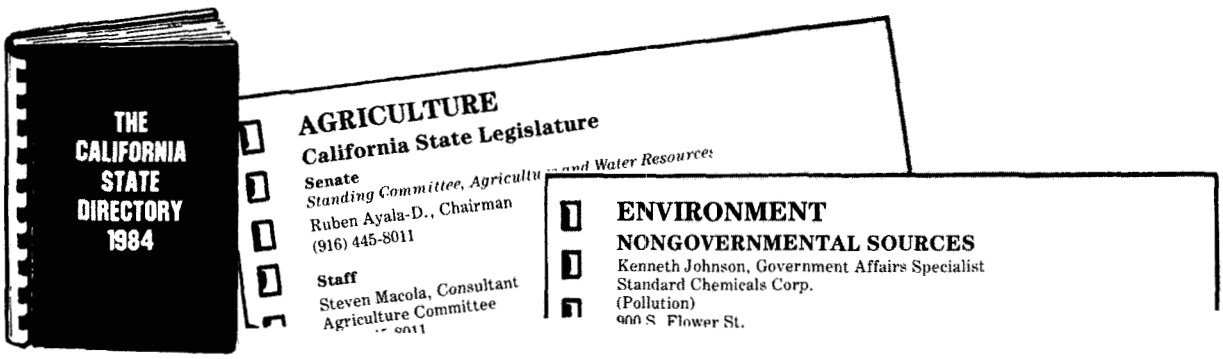

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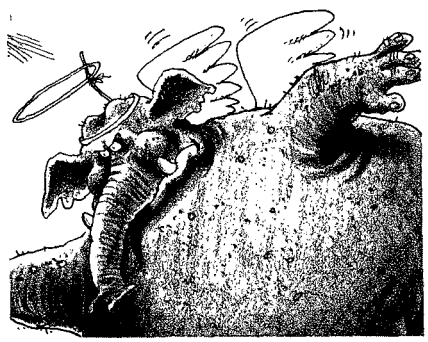

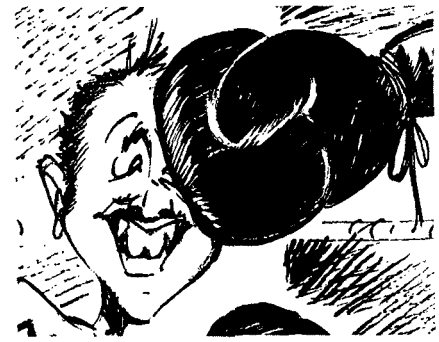

Special Section: Proposition Analysis

Everything you always wanted to know about the Gann initiative is explained in this 12-page supplement that covers Gann and eight other ballot measures that go before voters in June. Also available as a Journal *reprint, the section additionally contains a short history of Oregon's experience with a truth-in-campaigning law similar to Proposition 20.*

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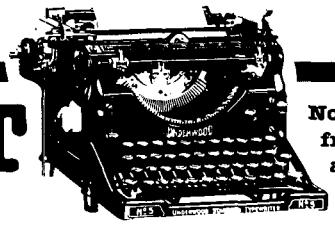
UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

If Alan Cranston's looks and age were issues that contributed to his poor finish in New Hampshire, so was the fact that his effort never quite looked presidential. One reason was that he refused Secret Service protection. (McGovern did likewise.) It's an ominous looking entourage, but it makes things *seem* important.

(Michele Willens, New York)

Democratic Senator Dan Boatwright of Concord was cleared March 1st by a Contra Costa county court of charges connected with his involvement in a local shopping center deal. Among other things, the judge gave little credence to testimony from the senator's ex-girlfriend, who testified that he told her of being rewarded for helping with the project. Boatwright denied her accusations and said she had been embittered by their breakup. In any case, Boatwright is up for re-election this year and says, "I can stand the heat, and I am not going to get out of the kitchen."

Every cloud has a silver lining, even the little one created by Republican Assemblyman Ernest Konnyu of Saratoga. Irked by the California Association for the Education of Young Children, he sent the Peninsula chapter a letter last June saying that he saw no sense in further meetings. "Please save your time for liberal Democratic legislators whose answers your group will like. I will not be wasting time with you in the future," he wrote. Although the note may have dampened a few spirits initially, it gave child care lobbyist Sue Brock an idea. During a recent capital conference on child care, she auctioned it at a luncheon meeting for $1000. The winning bidder was Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Konnyu told *The Sacramento Bee* later: "I like Willie's investment of $1000 for the sake of young people, and if I had the money he has, I'd support that, too.

(Deborah Shwartz, Oakland)

The ancient conflict between Town and Gown is taking new shape at Santa Cruz, where citizens are protesting a University of California plan to build a high-tech research and development park on the UC campus and lease space to private corporations. The city contends that the project would take nine percent of its dwindling water supply and require it to build a $3 million sewer line and $6 million road. The university replies that the city promised to provide necessary facilities for the school when it opened its campus there in the 1960s. And, adds campus Chancellor Robert Sinsheimer, the city has no right to tell the school what it can build. The state constitution exempts UC building projects from review by local planning officials, he says. If there's not settlement shortly, the dispute undoubtedly will end up in court.

(Bob Johnson, Santa Cruz)

Has anyone noticed that the biennial *California Roster* issued by the secretary of state's office hasn't appeared for 1983-84? It's a directory of state and local government officials, and the latest edition was supposed to have been out last fall. Spokeswoman Melissa Warren says that copy for the directory was mailed to the state printing plant last October. State Printer Don Male says he never got it. In any case, Warren worked long days and two weekends to prepare another batch of listings and get it to the printer. Male says he hopes to have the new directory out by mid-May. The new one will be for 1984, 1983 having been irretrievably lost.

We had an item for this section last month saying that no one was doing anything about Chief Justice Rose Bird's worries over the high cost of filing a law suit. It turns out not to be true. While the magazine was going into the mails Senator Barry Keene and Assemblyman Richard Robinson each introduced an ameliorating bill.

We know who's important in this world. When comedian Red Skelton was honored by the Legislature recently, Capitol staffers and visitors stood three deep in the galleries to hear his monologue. But when he left, so did the crowds, leaving the next guests to be honored before a near-empty house. They were the three Californians who won Nobel Prizes in 1983: Dr. Gerard Debreu (UC-Berkeley, economics), Dr. William A. Fowler (Cal Tech, physics) and Dr. Henry Taube (Stanford, chemistry).

The Mediterranean fruit fly fiasco of 1981-82 introduced the problem of agricultural pests to California's public consciousness in an unforgettable wa
While the Medfly has faded from t
scene, other pests have taken its place
a trend that has state agricultural e
perts worried. California developed
huge agriculture industry in a relativ
pest-free environment that may be sl
ping away. The state has spent over $1
million in pest eradication since 1981, a
there are currently seven major infes
tions threatening California crops. S
hello to the Mexican fruit fly, the Orien
fruit fly, the Caribbean fruit fly, the Ja
anese beetle, the gypsy moth, the ap
maggot and the boll weevil.

(Hal Stemmler, Sacramen

State Capitol lobbyists have been tu
ing the tables on lawmakers lately
selling them tickets to a fund rais
Through their Institute of Governmen
Advocates, the lobbyists are once ag
raising money for the Special Olympi
an event for the handicapped. Last ye
their dinner netted $22,500. Tickets
this year's reception, scheduled for Ap
11th, are $50 each and may be purchas
from any member of the IGA executi
committee.

Sierra Club lobbyists believe that the
sue of toxic waste handling has beco
so important at the Capitol that it's wo
a newsletter of its own. The first issue
"Toxics Insider," among other thin
warns of two bills that could relax to
controls and tweaks Democrats for s
porting them. The club also issue
"Coastal Insider" and plans to star
"Water Insider" shortly. The newsl
ters, which are published intermittent
go to about 400 club leaders, and supp
ment a weekly publication that gives s
tus reports on environmental bills.

Jerry Dominelli had become a finan
guru for the rich and powerful in the S
Diego area. Reports were that his La Jo
based brokerage house, J. David & C
was raking in 60 percent annual retu
for clients. But in February, his firm
forced into involuntary bankruptcy wh
investors could not get their money out
was soon discovered that San Diego Ma
Roger Hedgecock had a $50,000 acco
with J. David — an account that was tra
ferred to Dominelli's girlfriend and bu
ness associate, Nancy Hoover, shor

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before the firm collapsed. Hedgecock had taken a $130,000 loan from Hoover to remodel his house into a "mayor's mansion," using the J. David account as collateral. The Fair Political Practices Commission then launched an investigation into Hedgecock's finances. Hedgecock, serving out the last year of Pete Wilson's mayoral term, must stand for election in June. He appeared to face no strong opponent — until J. David collapsed. However, La Jolla businessman Richard Carlson is now a major opponent. Hedgecock is not the only political figure to get caught in the Dominelli collapse. Former Senator Jim Mills and Democratic party wheel M. Larry Lawrence are among the investors who can't get their money out of Dominelli's firm.

(James Richardson, San Diego)

State Senator Bill Campbell is mighty pleased about an appellate court decision handed down recently in San Francisco. Campbell took a lot of heat back in 1982 much of the criticism involved Campbell's method, pushing through his bill during the Legislature's hectic final hours. His supporters reply: He did nothing that his opponents wouldn't have done to him if they'd had the chance.

Caren Daniels, spokeswoman for Secretary of State March Fong Eu, and John Meade, spokesman for Equalization Board member Conway Collis, plan to wed in July. Romance blossomed nine years ago, says Daniels, at a seminar for public information officers on how to deal with the minority media.

Governor George Deukmejian and Senator Pete Wilson, chairman and co-chairman of the Reagan-Bush campaign in California, were winding up their remarks at a kick-off session in Los Angeles. Just as Wilson, who was standing at a podium and addressing the media, was saying,

for having zipped a little bill through the Legislature to prevent California cities and counties from banning the sale of fireworks. Among other things, he was accused of selling out to fireworks maker Patrick Moriarty, a friend and constituent. Indeed, the heat became so intense that former Governor Jerry Brown was forced to veto the measure. Through it all, Campbell insisted that his bill merely clarified the law. The statute already prohibited local governments from enacting fireworks bans, he insisted, and the San Jose judge who had ruled otherwise was wrong. Comes now the appellate court saying much the same thing as it overturned the San Jose ruling. Actually,

"We are looking forward to winning," a huge "REAGAN-BUSH '84" banner on the wall behind him came unglued and slowly sank to the floor. "We are looking forward to stronger tape," said Deukmejian. "I'll just say that the glue that binds all of us together is clearly stronger than that supporting the banner," added Wilson. Exit to general laughter.

(Richard Bergholz, Los Angeles)

Officially, the race for D.A. of L.A. is non-partisan. But the contest this June could become one of the most heated partisan brawls in California when Los Angeles County District Attorney Robert Philibosian is challenged by Los Angeles City Attorney Ira Reiner. Philibosian, appointed to the job to succeed now-Attorney General John Van de Kamp, is a shoot-from-the-hip, law-and-order prosecutor. He is also a former deputy attorney general and a protege of Governor Deukmejian. Reiner is a flamboyant politician, dear to liberal Democrats, who has directed high-profile cases against slumlords, illegal dumpers of toxic waste and street gang members marring public and private buildings with graffiti. Each candidate has weaknesses: Philibosian was appointed, not elected, and has a drab political style. Reiner may have a rough time explaining why he jeopardized the city's defense in an LAPD spying case by publicly criticizing his own clients and costing the city over $1 million to hire outside counsel.

(Greg Krikorian, Los Angeles)

State Treasurer Jess Unruh has always been known as a two-fisted eater and drinker, but wow! In a report to the Fair Political Practices Commission, Unruh says he received a gift of food and drink during the 1982 Rose Bowl Parade. Value? $428.

The Deukmejian administration appears to be dealing swiftly with its first hint of scandal. Gil Montano Jr., director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, has resigned and an investigation is underway. Insiders at the OEO say the problem centers on the agency's discretionary fund — $1.5 million annually in a budget of about $130 million — that can be spent outside normal award procedures. They say there were no startling giveaways to some handful of beneficiaries, just considerable "mismanagement."

We must begin to use history as a lesson, not as a habit.
—Rusty Schweikart

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814.*

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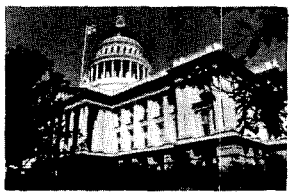

Capitol review

March 16, 1984

Back when George Deukmejian was attorney general and trying to make sure that the public did not forget who he was, staff aides used to set up what was irreverently known as the "event of the month" — some statement or action that would make Deukmejian look good in the press and on the evening news.

There are grander strategies now, but if there were still EOMs there's no doubt about what this month's event wouldn't be. It wouldn't be his veto three days ago of AB1, the gay-rights bill. Given the passionate feelings on both sides, it was the sort of no-win situation that politicians want everyone to forget. It probably was no accident that the news was dropped on Super Tuesday when, of course, with nine state primaries in progress, the media would be otherwise absorbed.

Friends and enemies

In politics, as many have observed, you lose most often because of the enemies you've made. Friends are notoriously faithless; they expect you to do what's agreeable to them and soon forget when you do. But anger burns deeply, creating memories that may not be eternal but are usually strong enough to continue through the next election.

The bill, AB1, would have made it illegal for private employers with more than five employees to discriminate against homosexuals. By vetoing, Deukmejian angered a bloc of citizens whose political power has grown enormously in recent years. But by signing he would have angered what is surely a larger group — the religious fundamentalists and other conservatives who look upon homosexuality as one of the most abhorrent of sins and who constitute a formidable bloc within his own Republican Party.

After the veto, the governor — so to speak — went into the closet, declining to discuss his motives or the logic of his decision. In response to questions, he replied that his veto message said it all. Thus, by not generating another round of news stories, he helped put the issue behind him. But he also left an inviting void for political speculation.

Had he signed AB1, the issue would not have died. Conservatives were prepared to sponsor a referendum, an action that would have kept angers boiling for months to come. Conceivably, the outcome could have been a conservative candidate running against him for governor in the GOP primary of 1986. (Deukmejian has already said that he will run.)

But there's more. Although Deukmejian himself wisely refrains from discussing his chances for president or vice president, his supporters are not so bashful. Knowing that any open attempt to win higher office could be dangerous (remember what happened to Jerry Brown), they see a possibility that goes like this: President Reagan is re-elected in 1984 but — through retirement or incapacitation — does not complete his four-year term. Vice President Bush becomes president and then must choose a vice president of his own.

And why not Deukmejian? He is from the West; he is ethnic; and he is satisfactory to the conservative wing of the party. Or he would be so long as he doesn't sign AB1.

And so it was that AB1 had to be vetoed, but in a way that would arouse the least anger among gays. In his carefully written veto message, Deukmejian reminded them that he had opposed Proposition 6 of 1978, which would have barred homosexuals from teaching in the public schools, and he artfully noted that former Governor Jerry Brown's executive order of 1979, which prohibits state government from discriminating against homosexuals and which he (Deukmejian) can rescind at any time, is still in place.

He also gave them a bit of hope by suggesting that he might sign a gay-rights bill in the future if its supporters could show him that there was a need. According to the final words of his veto message, "The proponents have been unable to provide compelling evidence that there is, in fact, widespread employment discrimination based upon sexual orientation."

Respectful treatment

But most of all, Deukmejian treated the issue with respect, not as though it were a matter to be abhorred. There was no quick veto of the measure with accompanying praise for the family and denunciations of aberrant life styles. From March 1st, the date of the bill's final passage through the Legislature, until March 13th, the date of his veto, Deukmejian gave the appearance — at least — of someone deep in the business of making a serious decision. Proponents and opponents were interviewed, files were reviewed and meetings were held with members of his senior staff. When the decision came, no one could complain of the brush-off.

Clearly, the gay community was not to be satisfied with anything less than the bill itself. However, there were signs that the administration's efforts to placate had some effect. San Francisco Assemblyman Art Agnos, who authored AB1 and whose district includes much of the city's gay community, found some satisfaction in Deukmejian's actions. "Indeed, the governor's long personal struggle to make what he described as his toughest gubernatorial decision is a victory in and of itself," he said. Also, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that a protest demonstration by gays after the veto was smaller than usual for such events.

Meanwhile, having gotten the veto they wanted, conservatives were pleased. "This action is another item on a growing list of examples of George Deukmejian's courageous, deliberative and effective leadership of our state," declared Republican Senator Bill Richardson of Glendora, the most prominent leader of California's conservative cause.

Robert Fairbanks

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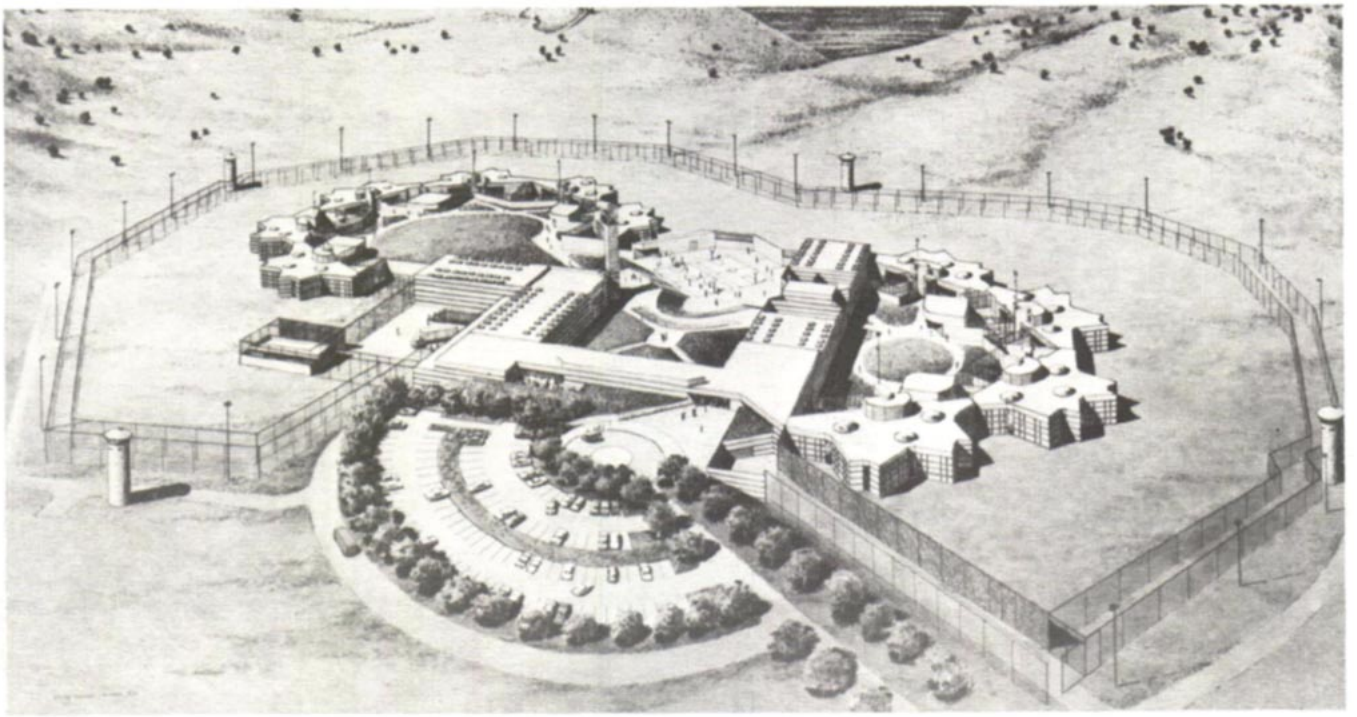
WHY PRISONS COST SO MUCH TO BUILD



One of the two 500-man units now under construction at the maximum-security prison at Tehachapi.

By ROBERT STUDER
and A. G. BLOCK

The people who designed the state's new prison at Tehachapi had a choice: Food for the prisoners could be prepared at an existing prison nearby or it could be prepared on site. If prepared at the other prison, the new prison would need warm-up facilities at a cost of $75,000. If prepared on site, the new prison would need kitchens at a cost of $500,000.

The prison designers chose the kitchens for $500,000. And their reasons help explain why Californians will spend at least $1.1 billion in the next four years to handle the flood of felons being generated by the state's ever-tougher sentencing laws. At the moment, more than 38,000 prisoners are crowded into structures designed to hold but 26,600. Estimates are that the population will keep growing at the rate of 500 new inmates every two months.

Ten new institutions are planned. Generally speaking, they will be expensive because prison officials want them to be secure, the Legislature wants them to rehabilitate (through work and school facilities) and the courts want them to be humane. At Tehachapi, where the kitchens went in, the result is a cost of better than $90,000 per cell.

Although the Legislature has contributed its share to the total, various lawmakers became concerned last year when they learned of the $90,000 figure at Tehachapi, which was under construction then (and still is). Deciding that something must be done, they pushed through a bill (SB722) that put a cap of $50,000 per cell on another prison being planned for San Diego.

The measure had no effect on Tehachapi's already established costs and, in fact, referred to a different type of institution: Tehachapi is maximum-security; San Diego is medium-security. But officials at the State Department of Corrections, which runs the prison system, got the Legislature's message. According to Dennis Dunne, the department's deputy director for planning and construction, the department is now working hard to hold down costs for all future construction.

But it is hard, not only because of the department's own desires for tight security but because of the requirements set by the Legislature and courts as well.

Security

Concerning security, the Tehachapi kitchens are a good example of how prison officials view the world. The situation there is this: The new 1,000-bed maximum-security prison is being

Robert Studer is a Sacramento reporter for Copley News Service. A. G. Block is managing editor of the Journal.

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built about a quarter of a mile from a medium-security prison already on the site. Thus, the kitchens at the existing prison could be used to prepare food for all. Inmates would deliver it to the new prison, where it would be warmed and served.

However, such deliveries would involve mingling of prisoners from the two institutions. Weapons, drugs and other contraband could be smuggled back and forth. If there was a search at one prison, contraband could be hidden at the other. Furthermore, maximum-security prisoners are usually more hardened and violence-prone than those in medium-security institutions. Contact between them could harden the latter, creating new problems at the medium-security site. For these reasons, the department chose to put kitchens in the maximum-security prison.

Department spokesman Phil Guthrie says that overall security is achieved largely by dividing prison populations into relatively small units, each of which is (or can be) isolated from others in case of a disturbance. But this, of course, drives up costs because a collection of small buildings is more expensive to build than a few big cell blocks, like the five-tier structures — for up to 500 men each — at the state's older prisons, San Quentin and Folsom.

Tehachapi is billed as a 1000-bed institution, but in line with the policy of dividing populations, it is actually two 500-bed prisons, each surrounded by guard towers and a perimeter wall. Within each set of walls are eight star-shaped buildings, each a cell block for 62 men. Each building has its own security control room, dining room and exercise yard.

Also, the eight buildings are subdivided. The wedge-shaped arm of each star is a 16-man or 18-man unit, each with its own recreation room, showers and cells. From a central station at the center of the star, guards can watch activities in each arm.

Cutting costs

How might security costs be cut? Charles Silverman, architect for the Tehachapi project, recommended to state officials — for instance — that interior walls be made of concrete-filled masonry blocks instead of steel-reinforced poured concrete. Silverman, of San Francisco, says that Colorado officials used blocks in a maximum-security prison that was built four years ago at Canyon City.

But state officials rejected the idea. According to Guthrie, inmates in a New Mexico prison easily broke through the masonry blocks during the riot there four years ago. And, he says, four inmates at the Canyon City prison in Colorado escaped by digging around a window set in a masonry block wall.

Dale Hobson, architect for the Canyon City prison, says its cost of $35,700 per cell also resulted in part from the prison's lack of perimeter guard towers. But California officials rejected that idea as well. According to Guthrie, alarms, beams of light and wires aren't enough to assure that prisoners don't escape. "California has a 10-year history of violence in our prisons that Colorado doesn't have," he says.

However, Canyon City differs from Tehachapi in other ways as well. Church services at Canyon City are held in the gymnasium; Tehachapi has two separate chapels, one for each 500-bed prison. Also, Canyon City has little or no landscaping and a gravel rather than a paved parking lot. Says Guthrie: "California has a 100-year tradition of chapels in its prisons, including the famous old gray stone chapel at Folsom. And as for parking

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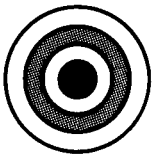

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lots, gravel might be okay for the wilds of Colorado, but not in California."

Security also runs up costs by requiring that every part of the institution, not just the living units, be made — in the words of one department official — "convict proof." "Even the toilets and fixtures have to be more expensive stainless steel because ceramic can be broken up for weapons," explains Dunne, the deputy director for planning and construction.

All of which does not mean that high costs for security can't be cut. After the Legislature last year put that $50,000 per cell cap on the proposed prison at San Diego, officials in the Corrections department took another look at a medium-security prison that was about to be started at Vacaville. A 2000-bed facility, initially it was to have looked much like Tehachapi with its separate 500-bed units, each with its own wall, gun towers, exercise yard, dining room, etc. Not surprisingly, it also was to have approached Tehachapi's $90,000 per cell cost.

Feeling the heat

But corrections officials, feeling heat from the Legislature and believing that a medium-security prison did not necessarily need all the features of the Tehachapi design, have radically reduced projected costs. By replacing poured concrete walls with prefabricated concrete panels, by eliminating separate walls around each unit, by centralizing dining rooms, exercise yards, etc. and by making other such changes, they reduced the projected cost to $51,000 per cell.

However, projected costs are notorious for their propensity to rise. In this case, for instance, the city of Vacaville is unexpectedly seeking $7 million to hook the new prison into the town's water and sewer lines. Because of such contingencies, as well as possible changes of mind about security or other needs, it's impossible to know what the final cost at Vacaville and other new prisons will be.

As mentioned earlier, prisons are expensive also because of requirements laid down by the Legislature and the courts. Generally speaking, these tend to make prisons physically larger than they would be if security alone were the only consideration.

Concerning the Legislature, its space requirements are the consequence of a 1982 bill (AB1403) requiring that all inmates be put to work or given vocational training. According to Deputy Director Dunne, Tehachapi will have as much square-footage for industry, classroom and hobby area as for housing prisoners.

Concerning the courts, their requirements for additional space result from rulings during recent years in several states that prison overcrowding is a form of "cruel and unusual punishment." In California, Marin County Superior Court Judge Beverly B. Savitt used the phrase when ordering an end to double celling at San Quentin *(Wilson vs. Deukmejian,* December 1983).

Thus, the new prisons will have roomier cells. Instead of the 46-square foot cells at San Quentin or the 48-square foot ones at Folsom, Tehachapi cells (for two men each) will have nearly 75 percent more room at 80-square feet.

Whatever the final costs turn out to be, California's current prison construction program — with its 10 new prisons and 16,000 beds — won't be enough. According to Dunne, when the program is completed, the prison system will be at 111 percent of capacity, will need a new 500-bed unit every 60 days — and will still not quite keep up.

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Corrections' spokesman to close out a colorful career

By SIDNEY A. MANDEL

Philip Guthrie — official spokesman for California's prison system — has seen them come and go: four governors, five prison directors and every well-known criminal from Eldridge Cleaver to Dan White. Now, after 21 years of answering questions about it all, Guthrie himself is moving on. He says he plans to retire this year to an out-of-the-way place on the North Coast.

Someone else, he says, will have to tell persons such as the Campfire Girl leader in Oregon that Charles Manson, the murder mastermind, may not talk to her little girls on the telephone.

Guthrie, who's been a state employee for 27 years, is not senior among the state's corps of public information officers. That honor belongs to Bill Dillinger of the Parks and Recreation Department, who has nearly 31 years seniority. But Guthrie, 55, is one of the most respected and well-liked, not only among his PR colleagues (also known as "flacks") but among veteran Capitol reporters as well.

Guthrie says his good standing results largely from the fact that the prison system makes news. Thus, reporters come to him; he's not required to go forth — like many of his brethren — trying to sell uninteresting bureaucratic programs and policies to a skeptical press. "I hardly ever issue a press release," he says, almost a boast.

Of all Guthrie's bosses, the most colorful was Raymond Procunier, prison director in Ronald Reagan's administration and head of the Adult Authority (parole board) for a year under Jerry Brown. An up-from-the-ranks prison guard, Procunier was forever battling on three fronts: to hold down waves of unrest and violence within the prison system, reform the system itself and fend off attacks from critics on the outside.

Guthrie recalls Procunier with affection and admiration, describing him as "a nice combination of practical prison administrator and humanist." The two were to become close personal friends.

"Pro (Procunier) appreciated the role of the flack better than any other director. I had direct access to him. To be effective, the flack has to be in on everything. . . Too many administrators, both in and out of government, feel that if you tell the flack, you're telling the world."

The days with Procunier involved physical danger also. In 1971 a bomb exploded at department headquarters on the sixth floor of a state office building in Sacramento. No one was hurt (the explosion occurred early in the morning in a women's lavatory) but anxiety levels among top officials rose. Later, the Weathermen claimed responsibility for the blast. In response, Guthrie and other officials began taking elementary precautions, like placing a small strip of scotch tape between the hood and fender of their cars. Thus, if the hood were opened by someone to place a bomb, the scotch tape would be disturbed and the owner warned.

Hearst and the SLA

Within a few years, the infamous Symbionese Liberation Army, under Donald "Cinque" DeFreeze, came to the fore through the murder of Oakland School Superintendent Marcus Foster and the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst. Reportedly, the SLA had Procunier on its hit list.

"That was when Pro was persuaded to have his staff instructed in the use of firearms," Guthrie recalls. "I was not the gun-toting type, but I agreed — especially after I received some middle-of-the-night threatening phone calls. After Pro watched me in training, he advised me to put my gun in the car. He said we'd both be a lot safer. . .

"As part of our training, we were cautioned that if we were attacked in a building, Pro was supposed to duck under a table and I was to dive on top of him to shield him. But I told him, 'Nuts to that. You go your way and I'll go mine.'"

Things weren't quite so newsy at the State Department of Corrections, when Guthrie joined in 1963. Prisons were relatively quiet and his biggest chore was getting out the

Sidney A. Mandel flacks for the State Board of Equalization and freelances on the side.

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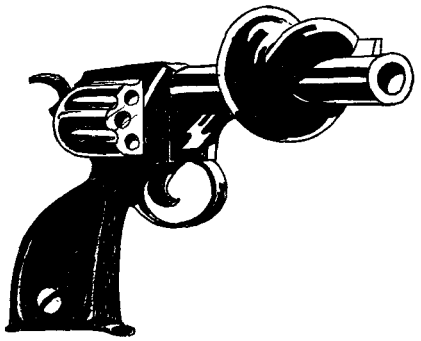

department's annual report. The situation began changing in the mid-1960s as waves of social unrest generated by the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War began rolling over the prison sytem. Suddenly, men like Eldridge Cleaver were no longer mere criminals. To many, they had become victims of political oppression.

Cleaver lams

Guthrie says the Cleaver case in 1968 introduced him to the world of media big time. Cleaver, an early member of the Black Panther Party, was a celebrity state prison parolee because of his book, *Soul On Ice*. Accused in connection with the shooting of an Oakland police officer, he was supposed to surrender to state officials in San Francisco but instead fled the country, winding up in Algiers. Guthrie says he remembers only standing before hordes of reporters and cameras and hearing shouts of "Where is he? Where is he?" and shouting back "We don't know. We don't know."

During succeeding years, Guthrie was the man up front for a succession of tragedies and travesties (see box), like campaigns in a war. The most recent was the parole of convicted killer Dan White, which required Guthrie to withhold information on White's whereabouts from scores of reporters, some of whom were angered by the withholding. But, grins Guthrie, "No one got sore enough to punch me out."

To Guthrie, each director brought unique talents to the job. Procunier's immediate successor was Jerry Enomoto, the first of two prison directors appointed by Governor Jerry Brown. "Jerry Enomoto was a great believer in consensus. He gave everybody a complete hearing," Guthrie says. Ironically, Enomoto was also to become the most disruptive of directors. In 1980, when Brown replaced him with Ruth Rushen, Enomoto — believing that he had been treated unfairly — refused to leave the director's office.

The impasse tore at Guthrie, who had become one of Enomoto's friends. When Enomoto asked Guthrie to help him by calling a news conference, Guthrie did not know what to do. "I no longer work for you," he explained to his former boss. Enomoto agreed and dropped the request for aid.

Rushen, the new director, was a flack's dream: the first woman and the first black to head the prison system with its 12,000 employees, $580 million annual budget, 37,500 inmates and 18,000 parolees. But shortly after her arrival, she notified Guthrie that she was going to remove him from his press spokesman role. Guthrie pondered through the rest of that day and into the night, and on the following morning wrote her a long memo saying that it would be a mistake to replace him — that it would take a new person too long to develop the press contacts essential to the job. Rushen never mentioned the memo, but Guthrie stayed on.

"Ruth Rushen is a nice combination of sophistication and street smarts," Guthrie says now. During her tenure, California voters passed an unprecedented $495 million bond issue for prison construction. Guthrie credits Rushen and Democratic Senator Robert Presley of Riverside for educating voters on the need for the bonds.

Guthrie's newest boss is Dan McCarthy, a 34-year veteran of California's prison system. "He's solid, steady," Guthrie observes, "a genius at fitting the right people to the right jobs." (After all, he kept Guthrie as flack, didn't he?)

But somehow the conversation always comes back to Pro-

Prison Violence and Change

1968 — Parole violator Eldridge Cleaver reneges on offer to surrender to Department of Corrections authorities and flees to Algeria.

1970 — Three black inmates are killed in Soledad Prison exercise yard by officer who says he fired into the ground to break up a fight.

1970 — Marin County Courthouse shoot-out leaves four dead, including a superior court judge, as three San Quentin inmates attempt to escape from custody by taking the judge and three others hostage.

1971 — Bomb explodes in women's lavatory at Department of Corrections Sacramento headquarters.

1971 — The Soledad Brothers try to escape from San Quentin with a gun smuggled into a maximum security lockup unit. Two inmates, three staff are killed before ringleader George Jackson is gunned down.

1971 — Charles Manson is imprisoned at Vacaville Medical Facility. The Manson Family gang members are dispersed to other state prisons.

1973 — After the 11th prison staff member is murdered by inmates in the previous three years, prisons chief Ray Procunier orders total lockdown at San Quentin, Soledad, Folsom, and Tracy — the first and only simultaneous shutdown of four maximum security prisons.

1974 — Heiress Patricia Hearst is kidnapped by the Symbionese Liberation Army. Investigation discloses that the SLA had its roots in the state prison system.

1976 — Determinate sentencing becomes law.

1980 — Prison overcrowding becomes critical issue.

1984 — Dan White is paroled after serving less than five years for killing San Francisco Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk.

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cunier. "I never had to build his image . . . all I had to do was get him before the press and let him speak. He was colorful, good copy . . ."

Which is not to say that all between them was sweetness and light. In 1969, when Sirhan Sirhan was awaiting sentencing for the slaying of Robert Kennedy, the corrections department — fearful for Sirhan's life — set up secure quarters for him within the state prison at Vacaville. His food was prepared separately and private showers were arranged. But the *San Francisco Examiner* saw things differently and ran a weekend story saying that the department had created a three-cell "luxury suite" for the killer.

Guthrie had not seen the story when he returned home from the golf course, where he had not only played 18 holes but afterwards had downed about five beers. Finding a sheaf of phone messages on his return, he scanned the story quickly and replied to an Associated Press query by saying that the story was "essentially correct."

A flood of mail from outraged citizens deluged the department, some 900 letters in all. Guthrie recalls the number because his punishment from Procunier was to answer each. "It was like writing on the blackboard 900 times 'I will not comment on anything I have not thoroughly read,'" Guthrie groans now.

But that was not the worst of his problems that year. According to Guthrie, he received a small amount of marijuana from a friend and decided to try it, never having done so before. But he got no further than tamping it into the bowl of his pipe, which he left lying on the front seat of his car.

"About a week later I was stopped by the Highway Patrol for driving behind the patrol car with my brights on. The officer pulled me out of the car, examined the pipe, and arrested me and my date of the evening. My stepdaughter heard it on a radio newscast while she was driving in Marin. My sister heard it on a newscast back east, as headlines across the country gloated, 'California Prison Official Busted on Pot Charge,'" Guthrie remembers.

"There was a lot of pressure on Pro to fire me. As a very visible prison official, I was setting a bad example, they argued, and I was unfit for office. Pro studied the arrest reports and decided I would stay. It cost me a bundle to bail out my date who was blameless. In court, I pleaded guilty and was sentenced to three years' probation.

"Then the reaction set in. The Prisoners Union, a prisoners'-rights group, sent me a telegram inviting me to join them. At Folsom Prison, the employees taunted Pro. A typical question was, 'What if I get busted for drunk driving? Will you protect me like you did Phil?' Pro shot back, 'Try it. I'll see if I love you as much as I love Phil.' To a critical question from a staff member, Procunier countered, 'If we can't rehabilitate one of our own, what good are we?'"

Guthrie started his state service in 1957 doing public relations for the Division of Highways and moving to the state hospital sytem before switching to the prisons. Before that, he was a seventh grade teacher in suburban Sacramento for two years. Divorced from his first wife, he has a 22-year-old son, two stepdaughters and a grandchild.

Guthrie says that he visited Procunier recently in New Mexico where the latter heads that state's prison sytem. Procunier, he continues, also seems to be wearying of the grind and may retire and return to California in the not too distant future. If so, they'll be seeing each other more often and retelling their war stories all over again.

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2000 hopefuls vie for 176 GOP delegate slots

By RICHARD BERGHOLZ

The road to the Democratic presidential nomination is so full of twists and surprises these days that it captures the public's attention. But the road to the renomination of President Reagan is so straight and uncomplicated that nobody pays much mind.

Nonetheless, a surprising number of Californians want to be named delegates to the Republican National Convention in Dallas next August despite the likelihood of sticky heat and a pre-arranged set of events that could easily beget boredom. According to a recent count, there were nearly 2000 applicants for the 176 delegate slots allocated to Reagan's home state.

Why all this interest?

Reagan is a much-revered political figure among his home state Republicans, and a lot of his admirers want to be part of his last hurrah. Also, "it's more or less a prestige thing," says Hazel Richardson of Santa Barbara, deputy regional campaign director for Reagan-Bush '84. "It's sort of like being at the opening day ceremonies of the Olympic Games in the Coliseum this summer; it's the place to be."

The job of choosing delegates technically belongs to an 11-member executive committee headed by Governor George Deukmejian. The other members are U.S. Senator Pete Wilson, state chairman Ed Reinecke, Republican National Committee members Jack Courtemanche and Trudy McDonald, and three appointees each from Deukmejian and Wilson. But when it comes right down to it, control rests with Reagan and Deukmejian, through their representatives.

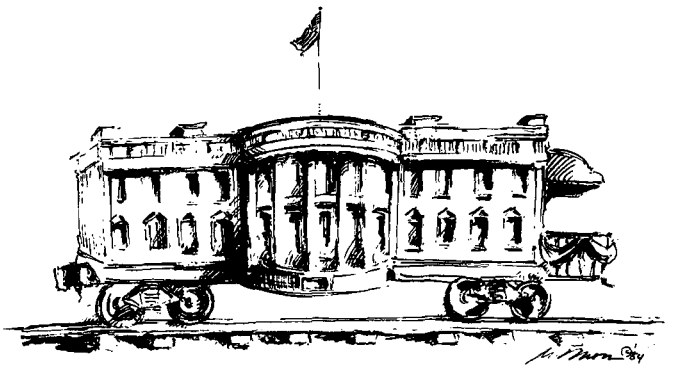
The only criterion

The Democrats have set up very strict quotas to govern the makeup of their convention delegation by sex, race, age and so forth. Republicans have only one criterion to meet: As nearly as possible, there should be an equal number of men and women. Reinecke took it upon himself to send Deukmejian a letter urging the selection of delegates to reflect U.S. Census demographics for California, particularly Hispanics.

But the party has no census figures to show the demographics of the GOP alone, Reinecke added. To add input to the delegate selection process, he says, an advisory committee has been named representing about 18 various ethnic Republican volunteer groups.

Deukmejian has passed the word he intends to be the leader of the delegate-selection process. And there are some Republicans who privately express concern the governor has more in mind than just protecting Reagan's interests. The scars from the bitter battle between Deukmejian and former Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb for the GOP gubernatorial nomination in 1982 have largely healed, but there are some memories that simply won't die.

Richard Bergholz is a frequent contributor to the Journal.



Suppose four equally outstanding Republicans are vying for seats from a particular congressional district (each district gets three delegate slots) and all four are longtime Reagan supporters. But one of the four fought hard against Deukmejian and for Curb in 1982. Which one is likely to be passed over?

And remember when then-President Gerald R. Ford was battling Reagan in the 1976 California primary and an awful lot of loyal Republicans had to choose between sitting president and a popular former governor? Will there be echoes from that struggle?

Perish the thought says Sal Russo, Deukmejian's deputy executive director and a top political operator for the governor. "We're all one happy family now and those old fights aren't that important any more," he says. However, chairman Reinecke isn't so sure that all should be forgiven and forgotten. Those who served on Reagan's 1976 and 1980 delegations should get preference — at least — in the 1984 allocations, he says.

But regardless of whatever angers may linger, there are some persons who have become too valuable to be omitted from the delegation — no matter what they may have done in the past.

Take the case of Manuel Caldera, a Hawthorne manufacturer who has been named vice-chair for the Reagan committee here and who is almost certain to wind up on the delegation as a representative of Hispanic Republicans.

Caldera supported Curb against Deukmejian in the 1982 fight, then backed Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, the Democratic nominee, in the finals. But Caldera since has changed directions, now is a strong supporter of both Reagan and Deukmejian among Hispanics.

Or take the case of Santa Barbara's Hazel Richardson, who gained statewide prominence in 1982 as spokesperson for Californians for Judicial Reform, the group that sought to turn out of office state Supreme Court Justices Otto Kaus, Cruz Reynoso and Allen Broussard. She worked for Ford in 1976 and as a volunteer for Curb in 1982. But it hasn't been a big problem for her now as a paid staffer for the Reagan campaign, she says.

Of course, it is a fact that she got her present job with the personal backing of Holmes Tuttle, who now resides in Montecito near Santa Barbara and who is one of Reagan's closest cronies from many years back.

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It is commonly understood that Reagan and his wife and some of the White House staff will send down word as to which of their friends should be included on the delegation. If they can't be fitted into the three-delegates-per-congressional-district formula, they can be moved into the 41 at-large delegate slots.

Given the scarcity of delegate slots, there are questions about how Deukmejian and the others will deal with the 47 GOP state legislators and 18 Republican members of Congress, most of whom say they want to go to the Dallas convention. Will Deukmejian dangle a delegate appointment in front of some lawmaker to get his vote on a troublesome piece of administration legislation?

"It's a real sticky problem," says Russo. Deukmejian briefed the congressional delegation in Washington recently as to their chances of making the Dallas trip, and Russo and Keith Welch, the state campaign director for Reagan-Bush '84, have had meetings with the legislative Republicans. Some lawmakers have said they don't want to decide among themselves who goes and who stays home, but would rather have Deukmejian and possibly Wilson take the responsibility. So far, the leaders have said they're willing to take the heat, but the situation is made to order for log-rolling.

Because there are so many longtime Reaganites who have to be considered, the executive committee is toying with the idea of organizing what might be termed an "honorary delegate" category. Members might be given tickets to the public seating area in the convention hall and allocated hotel rooms in Dallas so they could join in the many social functions the Californians are looking forward to.

The reason this might work, Russo suggests, is that California really has "an embarrassment of riches" at the convention. With a Californian as president and with all the Californian influence in the Reagan administration, the state probably will be "richly endowed with convention goodies — hotel rooms and tickets to the convention" and thus able to find room for the "honorary delegates."

California will have an even more distinguishing feature at the Dallas conclave: It will be the only state with a winner-take-all primary. What this means is that while every other state has yielded to the concept of sharing delegate strength somewhat proportionately to the primary votes cast, California Republicans still cling to the idea that all the delegates should go to the candidate who wins the popular vote primary, even though the victory may be by the narrowest of margins.

There have been modest attempts in the past to shake the practice, but nothing has come of it, mainly because the Reagan forces have been strongly in control in recent years and wanted to preserve the bloc-vote power. And the national party, which could ban the practice if it so chose, has backed away from a confrontation over the California practice.

State Senator William Campbell of Hacienda Heights, former Senate Republican leader, offered reformers hope — briefly — when he introduced legislation this year which would have divided the popular vote in a GOP presidential primary this way: one-third of the delegates to the popular vote winner, with the remaining two-thirds divided among all the candidates who got at least 10 percent of the vote. But Campbell has lost interest in pushing the bill because he says he got no encouragement from the party leadership.

Deukmejian's position, as related by Russo: "Everything (about the winner-take-all primary) works right now and there is no reason to change the system."

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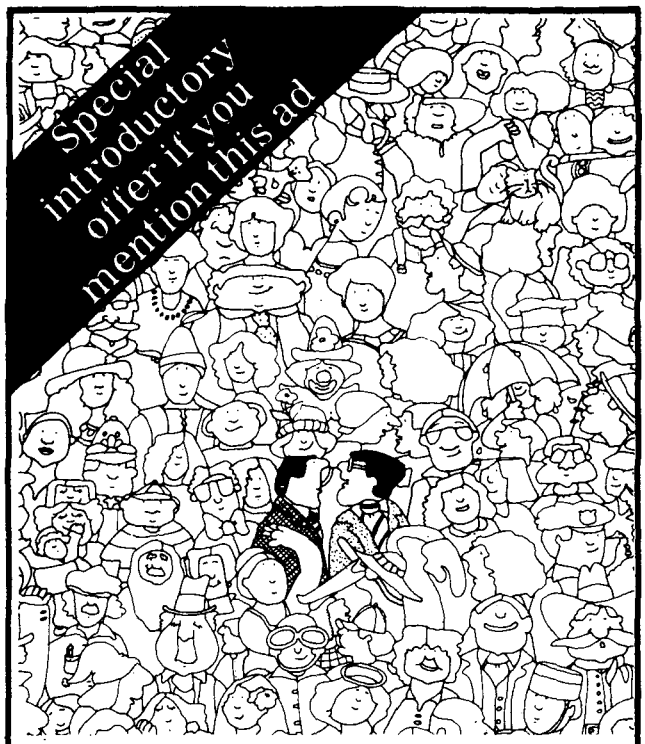

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CLAPS

Your February 1984 article, "New Title, New Chairman But [Liberal] Politics as Usual," about the Assembly Criminal Law and Public Safety Committee was informative. However, the article wrongly perpetuates the myth that the committee continues to be a "graveyard" for criminal justice legislation. In fact the committee, under the able and even-handed chairmanship of Assemblyman Byron Sher, approved more than 90 percent of all bills considered by it in 1983. More specifically, 90.1 percent (118 of 131) of Assembly bills and 92.2 percent (71 of 77) of Senate bills were passed. Only 7.7 percent (16 of 208) of bills heard failed passage.

Measures passed by the committee include laws to increase penalties for child abuse, sex offenses and voluntary manslaughter; to provide meaningful restitution to victims of crimes; and to construct new prisons to confine convicted criminals. Careful, objective review of the record reveals that the Assembly Criminal Law Committee has responded to the public's desire for tough but sensible laws to protect it against crime in California. The inaccurate "graveyard committee" label should itself be laid to rest once and for all.

WILLIE L. BROWN, JR.
Speaker of the Assembly

Pets for research

A few months ago, while on location with "Dynasty" in Arizona, I learned that my cat had disappeared from my home in Los Angeles. We looked everywhere — including many of the 24 animal shelters in Los Angeles County, but he has never been found. Only someone who has known the companionship of a cat can understand how much I miss him. The intelligence, grace, affection and humor he brought into my life are irreplaceable.

I write to you because I think everyone should be made aware of Senator David Roberti's bill SB883, which would prohibit the sale of pets from California animal shelters to medical research laboratories. My concern focuses on one simple issue: the use of pets like mine. He was loved, cherished, and . . . to the best of my ability . . . protected. He was part of my family. I know what pain, both physical and mental, he might be subjected to in a research lab.

I spent many anxious hours hoping that if he went to an animal shelter, he was really sheltered; hoping he was adopted by a family that will give him the same kind of love and respect he has always known, or that . . . if no one adopted him . . . he was painlessly euthanized. I know there are those who think, "He was only a cat. What difference does it make?" It makes a difference to me. And it makes a difference to him.

LINDA EVANS
Beverly Hills

It is wrong to allege that animal advocates have had no legislative successes. (See "Dogfight over stray animals," *CJ*, February 1984.) Long-time protectors of animal rights have achieved significant breakthroughs. Among them: declaring dog fighting a felony in this state and outlawing the use of decompression chambers for the killing of pound animals. We conducted a number of other successful campaigns on behalf of domestic and wild animals which are, by now, codified in federal law (Animal Welfare Act portions on animal shipments and dog fighting).

While the Fund for Animals and its Hollywood contingent was no "flag carrier" in those battles, their failures are pretty well confined to the Roberti/Filante bills — a possible reflection on their Johnny-come-lately ride on a bandwagon launched by others. The Fund neither originally motivated Senator Roberti to launch his campaign to outlaw use of pound animals in research, nor did it gather all those signatures in support, or even persuade the city of Los Angeles to start the trend toward closing the pound doors to researchers. This was the work of many groups and individuals, most of them gathered under the SPARE (Save Pound Animals from Research Experiments) banner.

With respect to the abolition of pound seizure, Hollywood linked arms with a publicity-wise politician, took over the cause, and quickly dominated the scene to the point of agreeing to unacceptable compromises on Senator (David) Roberti's (Democrat, Hollywood) SB-883. Thus, many original supporters of Senator Roberti's efforts had to disassociate themselves from an important issue and withdraw further support — and this development had to have a contributory effect to the apparent "failure" to an important cause.

Please do not accept the fate of Roberti's SB833 as the true gauge of success or failure of the animal-rights movement: Consider it just another chapter of "Star Wars" — well above the trenches where the real battles are fought.

RUTH WEDDLE
Canoga Park

As founder of SPARE I would like to clarify the article "Dogfight over stray animals" (*CJ*, February 1984). The Fund for Animals was founded by writer Cleveland Amory. Gretchen Wyler is the vice chairman of the California branch and is neither the founder nor the president. The victory in having the Los Angeles City Pound Seizure Ordinance repealed was due to the continuous efforts of dedicated pet owners who, over many years, lobbied the city council.

ALICE GRANT
Costa Mesa

English-only

A recent move by Republican Senator Ollie Speraw — requesting the institution of English as the official language of the United States — was rejected by the Senate Rules committee. According to Senate President Pro Tem David Roberti, "What unites this nation is freedom of choice, and even something as noble as learning the English language should not be coerced."

If Senator Roberti would take time to read history even as far back as World War II, he would learn that what unites a nation is a common bond of culture, and that bond's primary ingredient is language. No need to go into a discussion of what is happening in Lebanon, Africa or Ireland, because of cultural conflict. Nor need I mention Canada/Quebec?

H. A. HORWEGE
Arroyo Grande

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NEW IN PRINT

Analysis of the 1984-85 Budget Bill, Legislative Analyst, 925 L Street., Sacramento 95814. February, 1984. 2210 pp. $35 plus tax. Item by item analysis of the governor's proposed budget including recommended changes.

Summary of Recommendations in the Analysis of the 1984-85 Budget Bill, Legislative Analyst, 925 L Street, Sacramento 95814. February, 1984. 126 pp. Lists the more important recommended changes in the budget analysis.

The 1984-85 Budget: Perspectives and Issues, Legislative Analyst, 925 L Street, Sacramento 95814. 248 pp. An overview of the major budgetary issues that face the legislature.

Toxic Ponds: Antiquated Methods and Unacceptable Dangers, Assembly Office of Research, 1100 J Street, Suite 535, Sacramento 95814. February, 1984. 20 pp. California has some of the worst cases of groundwater contamination because hazardous wastes have been dumped into natural ponds and excavated pits which are inadequately monitored by state and federal agencies.

Doing Business in California: A Guide for Establishing a Business, Commission for Economic Development, State Capitol, Room 1028, Sacramento 95814. 1983. 63 pp. Summarizes the requirements, regulations, forms, fees, and local and state offices involved in the establishing of a business.

Hospital Fact Book 1983, California Hospital Association, 1023 12th Street, P.O. Box 1100, Sacramento 95805. 1983. 8th edition 89 pp. $20. California's lower hospitalization rate, shorter patient hospital stays, greater personnel utilization, and higher hospital costs indicate that Californians are sicker than others before being hospitalized and receive more intensive care once admitted.

Scope of Medical Practice and the Legislative Process: Four Case Studies from the 1981-1982 California Legislature, by Hrant E. Kouyoumdjian, Assistant Professor, California State University at Sacramento. December, 1983. Four volumes examine The 1981 California Nurse Anesthetist Scope of Practice Bill, $20; The 1981 California Nurse Midwifery Scope of Practice Bill, $12; The 1981 California Licensed Vocational Nursing Scope of Practice Bill, $6; and The 1982 California Chiropractic Practice act. Order from author, 2251 Northrop Avenue, #11, Sacramento 95825.

Changing Governors: The 1982-83 Transition in California, by Richard W. Gable, Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis 95616. December, 1983. 119 pp. $7.50. How Governor George Deukmejian assumed office and what he accomplished in his first year.

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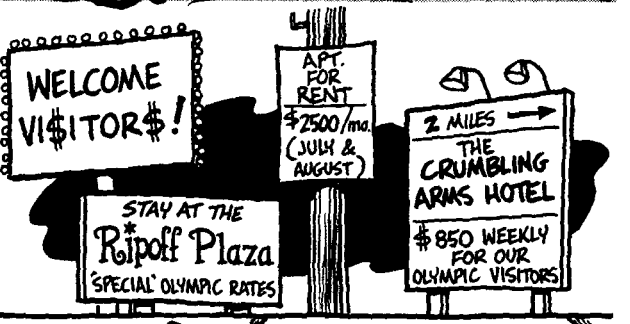

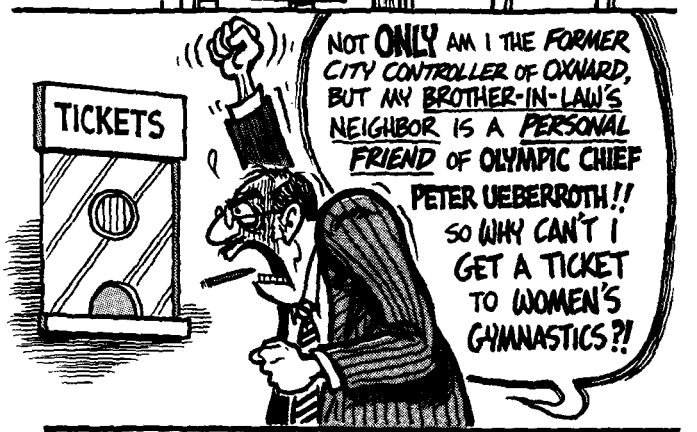
TICKETS
NOT ONLY AM I THE FORMER CITY CONTROLLER OF OXNARD, BUT MY BROTHER-IN-LAW'S NEIGHBOR IS A PERSONAL FRIEND OF OLYMPIC CHIEF PETER UEBERROTH!! SO WHY CAN'T I GET A TICKET TO WOMEN'S GYMNASTICS?!

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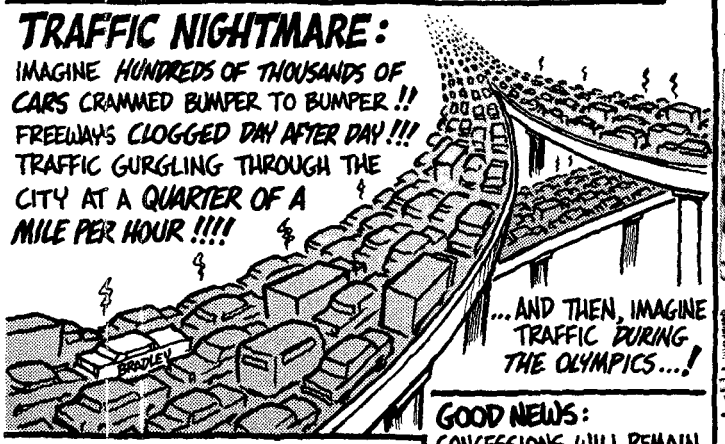

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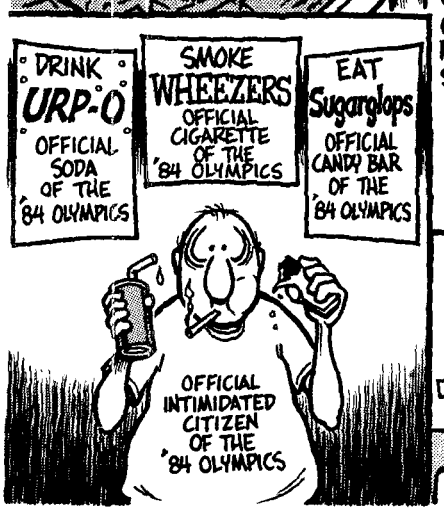
GOOD NEWS: CONCESSIONS WILL REMAIN REASONABLE, SORT OF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SMOKE WHEEZERS OFFICIAL CIGARETTE OF THE '84 OLYMPICS
EAT Sugarglops OFFICIAL CANDY BAR OF THE '84 OLYMPICS
OFFICIAL INTIMIDATED CITIZEN OF THE '84 OLYMPICS

TICKETS
WHAT DO YOU MEAN I CAN'T GET A TICKET TO WOMEN'S GYMNASTICS?! I'LL HAVE YOU KNOW I'M—
YEAH, YEAH I KNOW... A PERSONAL FRIEND OF OLYMPICS CHIEF PETER UEBERROTH!
BUT I AM PETER UEBERROTH!
STEVE GREENBERG 1984

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Ballot initiatives: a politician's unique guideposts

By TONY QUINN

It's now part of California political folklore that George Deukmejian can thank Proposition 15 — the gun control initiative — for his razor-thin victory in the 1982 governor's race. Gun-control opponents went to the polls in huge numbers to vote against the measure and, while there, cast ballots for like-minded candidate Deukmejian, boosting him over the top.

With the governor's race fresh in their memories, politicians are wondering if there is another initiative on the horizon with the same power to generate voter turnout in 1984. For it's becoming apparent that while many candidates do not have coattails, ballot initiatives do.

Among Republicans, there are wary eyes being cast at a proposed measure that would conform the state's Agricultural Labor Relations Act to the national model. If approved, the initiative would undercut the authority and bargaining power of Cesar Chavez and his farm workers' union. Chavez, of course, is bitterly opposed.

Figures developed by the Mervin Field organization show that as many as two million voting-age Hispanics did not go to the polls in 1980, the last presidential election year. Estimates are that Chavez could have well over one million dollars to put into California campaigns this year, and virtually all of it could go to Democrats.

But Democrats, while very good at registering minority voters, have problems getting them to the polls on election day. If the Chavez effort went into turning out a million more Hispanics, using the intensity of feeling he could arouse against the farm initiative, the fallout could elect additional Democrats to the Legislature and Congress, and maybe even deny President Reagan his home state in a close presidential election.

With this in mind, some Republicans have urged that agriculture forego the farm-labor initiative. Farm interests contend, though, that opposition to the Farm Labor Act in rural areas is so intense that Republicans will be benefitted by the initiative.

Other measures

Here are some other measures that bear watching:

- The Gann Legislative Reform Initiative would reduce the power of the Legislature's majority party and could produce a 30 percent cut in the Legislature's spending on itself. On the ballot in June, its passage could help Governor Deukmejian in his battles with Democratic leaders. Recent polls show increasing displeasure with the Legislature.
- A No-First-Use of Nuclear Weapons initiative is circulating, as a natural follow-up to 1982's successful nuclear-freeze initiative. This one would require the governor to write the president requesting the United States declare it will not be the first nation to use nuclear weapons. This initiative could inject the nuclear weapons debate into state campaigns. Congressman Don Clausen of Sonoma may have lost his seat in 1982 because of the nuclear-freeze initiative.
- Competing welfare-reform initiatives are currently in circulation. Both would restrict California's welfare payments to a formula based on the national average, and one would initiate workfare. This could be a sleeper issue in 1984, so far as turnout is concerned. Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson, sponsor of one of the initiatives, reports an unusually heavy response to an initial mailing for his initiative.
- Another Howard Jarvis tax initiative is in the wings, this one Jarvis III or IV, depending upon your count. It would limit the use of fees by local governments and restore a number of two-thirds vote requirements in Proposition 13 struck down by the Supreme Court.

Some initiatives of the past may make a rerun. A hotly contested issue in 1980 was rent control, and an anti-rent control initiative went down in a landslide. Nevertheless, three measures to outlaw or phase out rent control are in circulation. Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy has built a power base by fighting rent control repealers.

Deukmejian's come-from-behind victory in 1982 was possible because his managers realized the intensity of feeling on gun control and tied Democrat Tom Bradley to that unpopular initiative. Most polls failed to detect the late trend to Deukmejian because pollsters have trouble measuring unexpected shifts in voter turnout, and turnout was the big factor in 1982.

A quarter century ago, in 1958, a similar initiative, the famed right-to-work law, sank a Republican candidate for governor, William Knowland, and his entire party. There were many reasons for that debacle, but high on the list was Knowland's support for a right-to-work initiative his backers had placed on the ballot. It went down by a million votes, and Knowland lost to Democrat Pat Brown by an equal margin.

Jerry Brown can probably thank Proposition 9, the Political Reform Act, for his election as governor in 1974. Brown championed political reform at the height of Watergate with an initiative he sponsored prohibiting lobbyists from buying legislators more than "two hamburgers and a coke." It passed big in June and helped carry Brown through to a narrow win in November.

So this spring, campaign managers are sure to watch closely those ballot initiatives circulating for November. Obviously not all will qualify for the ballot, but enough may to markedly affect the 1984 election. The successful politician always tries to figure out where the people are leading him, and these ballot initiatives are unique guideposts.

Tony Quinn, a consultant for the Assembly Republican Caucus, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

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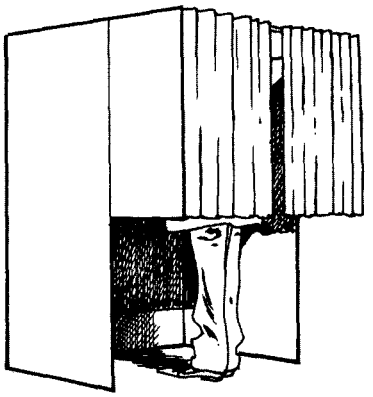
California Journal Ballot Proposition Analysis

June 1984

There are nine measures on the June 5th ballot, and the most politically interesting is the last in the series, Proposition 24, the so-called Gann initiative. By weakening the Democrats' control over the Legislature, the measure — if approved — eventually could weaken the overall strength of the party itself. This is so because Democrats — to a greater degree than Republicans — depend on special-interest money for their political campaigns. (Republicans look more to loyal and/or well-heeled party members for financial support.) But special-interests lose interest in politicians who lack political clout. Thus, to the degree that Democrats lose legislative control, they will lose money as well. Undisputed legislative control also helps Democrats by assuring them of tax-supported campaign assistance in the form of legislative staff. (Republicans share in that benefit too, but — again — don't need it as much.)

Granted, it may be a while before any of these effects are seen. Under the shrewd leadership of Speaker Willie Brown, Democrats in the Assembly — where the initiative would have most effect — might preserve much of their power for some time to come. But eventually, perhaps under another speaker, the new rules would take their toll.

For the rest, the ballot measures are all straightforward and relatively uncomplicated in their intents. The first four are bond issues; the next is designed to oust officeholders who tell lies about opponents during political campaigns; and the remaining three would make important changes in the law, but none that would affect the population as a whole. A simple majority vote will enact any of the propositions.



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16 COUNTY JAIL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE BOND ACT OF 1984

This measure would provide for the issuance of $250 million for construction of county jail facilities.

Background: Like its prison system, California's county jails are overcrowded, with 42,100 prisoners squeezed into space designed for 33,000. To correct the problem, the state Board of Corrections estimates counties must spend $1.1 billion over the next ten years to expand jail facilities. Meanwhile, lawsuits in seven counties have resulted in court limitations on the number of prisoners that can be housed in those jails, with similar lawsuits pending against 17 more counties. In November 1982 voters approved a $280 million bond issue to finance expansion of county jails. After extensive hearings the state Board of Corrections began allocating funds among the counties in February of this year.

The proposal: If enacted, Proposition 16 would authorize the sale of $250 million in state general obligation bonds. The money would finance building, remodeling and deferred maintenance of county jails. If all $250 million were sold at the current nine percent interest rate and paid off over 20 years, interest costs to the state would add another $236 million to the package.

Arguments for: Proponents — led by Governor George Deukmejian, Democratic state Senator Robert Presley and the California State Sheriffs Association — argue that overcrowded county jails are endangering public safety. As a result of overcrowding-based lawsuits, many prisoners are being moved into less secure facilities or discharged early to make room for additional inmates. Past bond issues, they say, did not provide enough money to correct the problem.

Arguments against: Opponents of this measure — primarily the Libertarian Party — say overcrowding is not a problem that can be solved with money. The problem, they argue, comes from a criminal-justice system that jails too many people for so-called victimless crimes like drug use, some voluntary sexual activity and gambling. They also say that bond issues such as these will cause a tax increase.

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17 NEW PRISON CONSTRUCTION BOND ACT OF 1984

This proposal would provide for the issuance of $300 million for the construction of state prison facilities.

Background: The state operates 12 prisons with a designed capacity of about 26,600 inmates and has opened no new prisons in 20 years. In January 1984 the system held 39,000 prisoners, and it was estimated that the inmate population could soar to 52,000 by 1987. Voters in June 1982 passed a $495 million bond issue for prison construction. Ten new facilities, with 16,450 additional beds, are now being built or planned. Since the cost of that construction is estimated at nearly $1.1 billion, the state will need another $559 million to complete the program.
Proposal: If passed by the voters, this measure will authorize the state to issue $300 million in general obligation bonds to finance the construction, remodeling and maintenance of prisons. If the bonds are sold at current inrterest rates of nine percent and paid off over 20 years, the state will pay an additional $284 million in interest.
Arguments for: Governor George Deukmejian, Democratic state Senator Robert Presley and other sponsors of Proposition 17 say that because more and more criminals are being sent to prison under the state's tough anti-crime laws, the state's prison system is becoming dangerously overcrowded. Funds from this bond issue are needed to help complete prison construction and provide more space for the influx of inmates.
Arguments against: The California Church Council and Friends Committee on Legislation contend that the solution to prison overcrowding is not to build more prisons. Although they suggest no alternatives at this time, they cite state figures to show that California will have to build one new prison every 60 days to keep up with the demand for new prison space — even after its current construction program is complete.

18 CALIFORNIA PARK AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES ACT OF 1984

This measure would provide for the issuance of $370 million for state and local parks, coastal resource areas and wildlife management areas.

Background: In past years, the acquisition and development of state and local parks, historical property and recreational facilities have been financed mostly through the sale of general obligation bonds. Since 1964, five bond issues (1964, 1970, 1974, 1976 and 1980) have provided about $1 billion for the state park system and for grants to local park projects. By July 1985, these funds will be exhausted.
Proposal: If enacted, this measure would authorize the sale of $370 million of general obligation bonds to finance the acquisition, development, rehabilitation and restoration of state and local parks, coastal resource and wildlife management areas. None of the money could be spent until appropriated by the Legislature. If Prop 19 is also approved, $20 million from these bonds designated for the Wildlife Conservation Board would be redistributed to other categories. Assuming that these bonds are sold at nine percent interest and repaid over 20 years, total cost to taxpayers would be about $720 million.
Arguments for: Governor George Deukmejian, former Governor Pat Brown, Democratic Assemblyman Sam Farr of Carmel and other sponsors say the state needs money not only to upgrade and enhance the existing — and overcrowded — park system but to add new park land and facilities for increased numbers of park users, especially in urban areas. The measure has bi-partisan support, including 85 lawmakers who were co-authors of AB2099, the bill by Assemblyman Farr that created the Park Act of 1984.

Arguments against: Opponents of the measure, led by Republican state Senator H. L. Richardson, say that California has spent enough for its park systems. They say that the eventual cost to taxpayers (bonds plus interest) is too much. Opponents also argue that additional land bought for state and local parks is land taken off county tax rolls; thus local governments could lose as much as $3.5 million a year in revenue. Finally, opponents contend that money to maintain and support the park system should be allocated by the governor or Legislature through the state's annual budget.

19 FISH AND WILDLIFE HABITAT ENHANCEMENT ACT OF 1984

This proposal would provide for the issuance of $85 million for fish and wildlife habitats.

Background: As with the park system, the state has financed wildlife enhancement projects through the sale of general obligation bonds. Park bonds approved by voters in 1970, 1974 and 1976 made available $31 million for fishing access and wildlife habitat restoration. By July 1984 these funds will be exhausted.

Proposal: If this measure is enacted, the state will sell $85 million in general obligation bonds to fund the Fish and Wildlife Habitat Enhancement Act of 1984. The money, which would go to the Wildlife Conservation Board ($55 million) and the State Coastal Conservancy ($30 million) for — among other things — buying marshlands, wetlands

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and habitat areas for endangered species. Specific appropriations must be made by the Legislature. If bonds are sold at current market rates of nine percent, eventual interest costs to the state would add an additional $80.3 million over 20 years.

Arguments for: The principal sponsors of this measure — Democratic Senators Gary Hart and Robert Presley and Governor George Deukmejian — say that California has lost nearly 90 percent of its wetlands to development over the past 100 years and the process is continuing. These bonds will slow the process as well as provide money for such things as clearing stream obstructions and securing land for endangered species like bighorn sheep. At a cost of 40 cents per year per citizen the benefits well outweigh the costs.

Arguments against: Opponents, led by Republican Assemblyman Nolan Frizzelle, argue that Proposition 19 amounts to a tax increase because tax revenues must be used to repay interest on the bonds. Opponents also claim that the bill gives too much power to the Coastal Conservancy and theWildlife Conservation Board. Since those agencies already have the authority to issue permits for the use and development of private land, the additional authority to buy that land increases the danger that they could delay issuing permits so as to devalue the land they intend to buy.

20 CAMPAIGN LIBEL LAW

This measure would remove from office any elected official later convicted of libeling or slandering an opponent during an election.

Background: In recent years, both Republicans and Democrats have expressed concern over smear tactics in political campaigns. Especially troublesome are so-called "hit pieces" mailed to voters just before an election. Often these mailers publish misleading or false information about an opponent who then has no time to respond. Although the state and federal constitutions guarantee the right of free speech, they do not guarantee the right to libel or slander. A person who libels or slanders may be sued and forced to pay a judgement to the party injured by his words.

Proposal: If enacted by voters, this measure would add a new dimension to the laws on libel and slander. It would require the removal from office of any candidate who won election through the malicious libeling or slandering of an opponent. More specifically, it would prevent any successful candidate for the U.S. Senate and House, and state and local elective office in California from holding office if three conditions are met: The candidate was found in a civil action to have slandered or libeled an opponent during the course of a campaign; the libelous or slanderous statement contributed in a major way to the opponent's defeat; and the statement was made with reckless disregard for whether it was true or false.

Arguments for: The sponsor of Proposition 20, Democratic Assemblyman Art Agnos, says that smear campaigns are causing voters to become less and less interested in the election of public officials. Dishonest campaigns, he argues, cheat citizens by robbing them of their right to make an informed, intelligent choice. This measure, he says, imposes the ultimate political penalty on a candidate who lies to get elected — forfeiture of office.

Arguments against: The Libertarian Party opposes Proposition 20. It contends that the amendment would restrict free speech by inhibiting vigorous debate in political campaigns. The proposed amendment also would shelter incumbents, they say, because vocal and active challengers would fear being sued. Incumbents rarely attack challengers fiercely and so would not be affected by the law, they argue. Finally, they say there is no way to provide that a statement contributed to a candidate's defeat without testimony from voters. But asking voters who they voted for and why could destroy the secret ballot.

For a short history of Oregon's experience with a law similar to Proposition 20 see page 12.

21 INVESTMENTS BY PUBLIC PENSION SYSTEMS

This measure converts public pension assets into trust funds and removes constitutional restrictions on the purchase of corporate stock by those funds.

Background: Currently, the assets held by public pension systems are not considered trust funds. As a result, the Legislature and governor may use them for other than providing benefits to retirees. In 1983, for instance, Governor Deukmejian helped balance the state budget in part by not paying an annual appropriation of $211.3 million to the State Teachers' Retirement System. Also, system trustees are not now held to any standard of care when investing those funds, nor are they held personally liable for bad investments. To some degree, this has been unnecessary because the state constitution limits the kind and amount of corporate stock that can be bought as investments. For instance, no system may own more than five percent of any one company's outstanding common stock. The constitution also limits the types of stock held to that of companies with total assets of at least $100 million.

Proposal: If passed in June, this measure will give public pension assets the status of trust funds and will remove constitutional restrictions on the purchase of corporate stock. Trustees would be held to certain minimum standards of care when investing those funds and could be personally liable for bad investments.

Arguments for: Sponsors of this measure — Assemblymen Larry Stirling and Louis Papan — say that current restrictions on pension system investments are outdated and, as a result, have cost those systems investment opportunities. Also, the lack of trust status for pension funds allows their use for other than retirement benefits. Proposition 21, they say, gives those assets trust status and makes trustees personally liable for imprudent investments. Finally, they say,

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Prop 21 brings the state constitution into line with existing federal laws that regulate more than 600,000 private pension plans.

Arguments against: Opponents of Proposition 21 — led by Assemblyman Pat Nolan and Jake Petrosino of the Public Employees' Retirement System board of administration — contend that even with restrictions, public retirement systems have had a poor track record in the stock market, and to allow those systems to invest even more in stocks would be a costly mistake. Opponents think the best investment policy is the current one that mandates a certain percentage of assets be placed in consistently profitable investments like mortgages. They further contend that other, more innovative investments urged by proponents are high-risk and pose a danger of financial loss.

22 CIVIL SERVICE EXEMPT POSITIONS

This measure exempts from civil service status certain management positions in the state's largest retirement systems.

Background: The Public Employees' Retirement System (PERS) and the State Teachers' Retirement System(STRS) are two of the largest pension systems in the country, with membership rolls of 800,000 and 400,000, respectively. Assets — about $20 billion for PERS and $11 billion for STRS — are invested in various instruments like stocks and mortgages, subject to legal and consitutional requirements. The boards of both systems have the authority to appoint investment personnel, but under the state constitution, the personnel who manage these investment programs must be members of the civil service system.
Proposal: If passed by voters, this measure would exempt from civil service the following positions in PERS and STRS: chief investment officer, assistant chief investment officer and an unspecified number of principal fund managers. As exempt employees, they would serve at the pleasure of the PERS and STRS boards of administration.

Arguments for: Assemblyman Louis Papan contends that the current civil service requirement hurts the state's ability to attract top investment talent for PERS and STRS. By exempting the position, he says, job candidates with sound investment credentials would no longer be automatically eliminated from consideration because they lacked civil service status.

Arguments against: Attorney Timothy Weinland of Sacramento says that Prop 22 jeopardizes the retirement benefits for teachers and state employees by setting up the possibility that the Legislature will dictate who will manage PERS' and STRS' assets. This, Weinland contends, politicizes both agencies and subjects management personnel to unwarranted political pressure. As civil servants, he argues, they are chosen based on merit and cannot be removed for political reasons.

23 PROPERTY TAX ON NEW CONSTRUCTION

This proposed constitutional amendment would exempt from property tax assessment as new construction those buildings upgraded to comply with local seismic safety ordinances.

Background: Under Article XIII A of the California Constitution (the Proposition 13 property tax initiative of 1978), the assessed value of property cannot be increased by more than two percent each year. New construction, however, may be appraised at fair-market value at the time construction is completed. This also applies to newly constructed modifications and additions to existing structures. In 1979 the Legislature permitted cities to adopt earthquake-safety ordinances; Los Angeles, Long Beach, Santa Ana and Santa Rosa have since done so. These ordinances require that certain pre-1933 masonry buildings be upgraded to withstand earthquakes. When a building is thus reconstructed, its assessed value is increased by the fair-market value of the new construction.
Proposal: If Proposition 23 is enacted by voters, buildings remodeled or modified to comply with local earthquake-safety ordinances would no longer be considered "new construction" for property tax purposes under Article XIII A. This exemption would apply only to buildings where the walls were built with bricks, cement blocks or other types of masonry material that did not contain steel reinforcing rods. This measure would reduce property tax revenues to local governments.
Arguments for: The sponsors of this amendment — including state Senator Herschel Rosenthal and Stanley Scott, chairman of the Seismic Safety Commission — say that current law is unfair. They contend that the owner of a building should not be hit with a tax increase because he or she remodels a structure to comply with local ordinances.
Arguments against: Attorney Timothy Weinland of Sacramento argues that Proposition 23 is designed to benefit corporations and wealthy individuals who own commercial property since most seismic safety ordinances apply only to commercial property.

Proposition numbering

Wonder why there's no Proposition 1 on this year's ballot? It's because a 1983 law required that ballot measures be numbered consecutively from election to election, starting with November 1982. Previously, each election got its own set of numbers starting with 1. But the system is confusing. If you say "Proposition 13," do you mean the tax-cutting measure of 1978 or the water-conservation proposal of 1982? Since 15 measures went to voters in November 1982, the new crop begins with 16. It will continue this way for 20 years, so the next time you'll see Prop 1 will be 2002.

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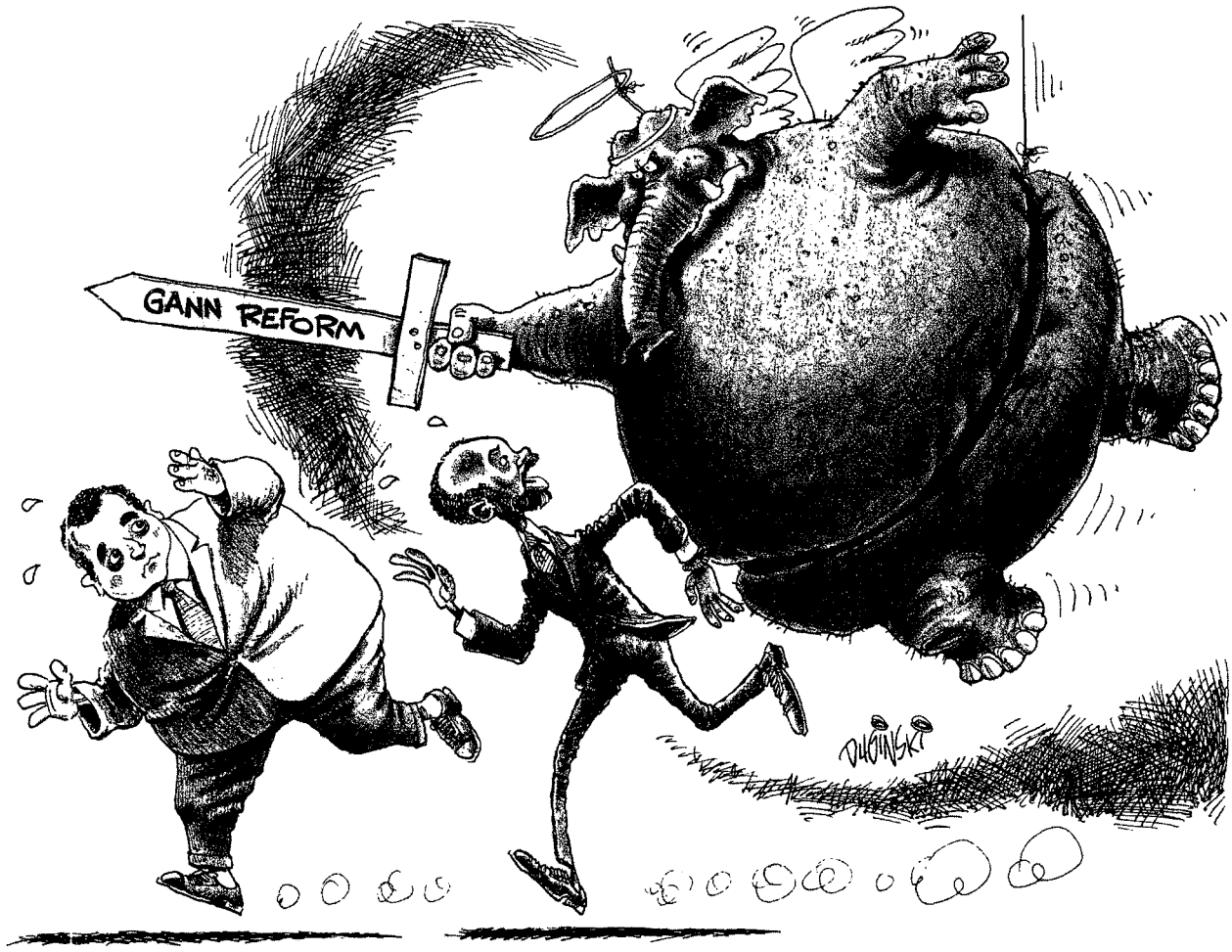
24 RULES OF THE LEGISLATURE

This measure changes rules that operate the Legislature and limits the amount the Legislature can spend on itself.



To understand the Gann initiative — Proposition 24 — you have to begin with an elemental fact: Those who control the internal organization of the Legislature can strongly influence the fate of legislation and the political fortunes of the members themselves. For the most part, it's done through committee assignments, bill referrals and the disposition of staff. If you are assigned to sit on unimportant committees, if your bills are referred to unfriendly committees and if you are placed in a cubbyhole office with one secretary and a single phone, you'd better be one helluva campaigner if you want to remain in politics for long.

Essentially, the Gann initiative is an attempt by Republicans — the Legislature's minority — to get what they would call a fair share of in-house control. They need it, they say, to protect themselves from the Democratic majority, which is denying them funding, staff and other necessities of legislative life.

To make the proposal more appealing to voters, Republicans have included provisions requiring tighter control and disclosure over moneys that the Legislature spends on itself. The key provision supposedly would cut legislative spending by 30 percent. However, it contains a loophole which — if used — would allow lawmakers to spend as much as ever, or more.

Democrats reply that Republicans want much more than a fair share. They want a veto over majority decisions — a power that in effect would allow the minority to rule. Also, Democrats say, by reducing the power of identifiable leaders (the Assembly speaker and Senate president pro tempore), the initiative would reduce political accountability.

Actually, the initiative says nothing about Democrats and Republicans, speaking only of the "largest" and "second largest" parties. Thus, if Republicans should unexpectedly become the Legislature's majority party, Democrats would have the powers that Republicans now are seeking for themselves.

The speakership war

In large part, the Gann initiative grew from the speakership war among Assembly Democrats four years ago. After Leo McCarthy (now lieutenant governor) and Howard Berman (now a congressman) battled to a draw, Democrat Willie Brown won the speaker's job. But to get it, he

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made a deal with Republicans for their support. Among other things, he gave up the speaker's power to make bill referrals; that is, to decide which committee would hear which bills, a decision that might determine a measure's fate. That power went to the Rules Committee. He also gave Republicans more staff and named Republicans as vice-chairmen of nearly all Assembly committees.

But during 1981 and 1982, as Brown solidified his support among Democrats, he became less dependent upon Republican allies. Also, partisan battles over reapportionment and other issues generated intense anger, particularly between Democratic liberals and a band of Republican conservatives ("the cavemen"), most of whom had come to office with Proposition 13 in 1978.

In any case, when the 1983-84 session began, Brown was re-elected speaker by Democrats alone and speedily let it be known that he was a friend of Republicans no more. Republicans were reduced to a single vice-chairmanship and house rules were changed to further tighten the Democratic majority's control over parliamentary procedure.

Incensed by their reduced status and convinced that retaliation was necessary, Assembly Republicans — led by the conservative bloc — came up with money to launch an initiative campaign to be headed by Paul Gann, the co-author of Proposition 13. By the end of last year, their "Legislative Reform Project" had raised over $800,000 and had qualified their measure for the ballot.

However, not all Republicans are on board. Former GOP Assembly Speaker Robert Monagan, now president of the California Manufacturers Association, is opposed and has co-signed (with former Speaker McCarthy) one of the ballot arguments against the initiative. The state's top Republican, Governor George Deukmejian, has taken no stand and is expected to remain neutral through the campaign.

Aside from the initiative's effects is the question of its constitutionality. The state constitution appears to give the Legislature sole power to rule itself. ("Each house shall choose its officers and adopt rules for its proceedings," Article IV, Section 7.) Thus, to impose new rules from outside, it would appear that the constitution must be changed. But the Gann proposal is a statutory initiative, one that changes statutory law, not the constitution.

Gann supporters reply that there is precedent for changing legislative rules without changing the constitution, and they cite the Political Reform Act of 1974, another statutory initiative. Among other things, it tells legislators when they can mail their newsletters and when to file various financial reports.

Gann supporters contend that the constitution is not directly involved. They argue that the Legislature governs itself through statutes; that is, it sets forth its internal rules as statutory law. Thus, changing those statutes — as the Gann initiative would do — is enough to change the rules.

Opponents' views

Opponents of the measure reply that the Political Reform Act is not a proper precedent because it does not affect internal legislative rules. Also, they say, the legislative rules contained in statutory law actually mean nothing because the Legislature — relying on its constitutional authority to set it own rules — may ignore them whenever it wishes.

This position — that statutory law is irrelevant — has been upheld, they say, in a 1905 decision from the California Supreme Court (*French vs. Senate*) and in a decision only last December from the Massachusetts high court. (The Massachusetts case also involved an initiative to change legislative rules.)

In any case, if the Gann initiative is approved by voters, it surely faces another battle in the courts.

Some have wondered why Republicans did not try to reduce their legal problems by going for a constitutional amendment in the first place. GOP sources reply that the statutory change seemed sufficient when the campaign was being organized early last year, and could be placed on the ballot more quickly and at lower cost. (A statutory initiative requires 393,835 registered voter signatures to qualify; an amendment requires 630,136.)

But some Democrats say that Republicans are not really interested in legislative reform. The initiative campaign itself helps the GOP by centering attention on the Legislature's Democratic leadership and the money it spends. Also, if the measure passes but is ruled unconstitutional by the state Supreme Court, Republicans can claim that the court has thwarted the popular will, and use that argument against Chief Justice Rose Bird and her liberal colleagues, who must go before voters in 1986.

Although the Gann initiative is easy to summarize as an attempt by Republicans to get a bigger share of legislative control, the specifics require much explanation.

The remainder of this article lists key provisions of the initiative, each followed by a description of the changes that provision would make. Support and opposition statements also are included, coming respectively from Assembly Republican leader Robert Naylor and political consultant Clem Whitaker Jr. Whitaker, a Republican, has been retained by Democrats as a spokesman against the measure.

Assembly Rules Committee

§9911. Assembly Committee on Rules

There is hereby created in the Assembly a Committee on Rules, which shall consist of the Speaker, who shall be the chairman of the committee, and six other Members of the

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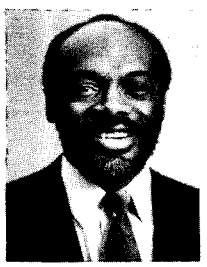

BROWN

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Assembly, three to be elected by the party having the largest number of Members in the Assembly and three to be elected by the party having the second largest number of Members.

This provision makes the measure's most important leadership change. Currently, the Assembly is run by the speaker and by the nine-member Committee on Rules. Between them they make all the important decisions: committee assignments, bill referrals and staff dispositions. But the speaker dominates the process, holding much of the power himself and appointing the chairman of Rules.

Under this provision, the speaker's independent power would be abolished. He would become but one of seven members on a new and all powerful Rules committee. True, he would be chairman, but he would be sharing power, not exercising it unilaterally as he used to.

The reduction in the size of the Rules committee — from nine to seven members — is relatively unimportant. But the initiative makes an important change in the way that members are selected. Currently, the eight Rules committee members (not including the chairman) are divided be-

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tween the majority and minority parties — four each.

One of each four must be the party's floor leader. The other three in each group are nominated by the party caucus and elected to the committee by the Assembly as a whole. Although it hasn't happened in recent memory, the majority party could veto a minority party nominee by rejecting him or her in the election. This could continue until the minority party produced someone that the majority liked.

Under the initiative, the six members of the committee (not including the speaker-chairman) would be selected by each party, three each. There would be no election by the Assembly as a whole.

Naylor: This section, establishing the makeup and powers of the important Rules committee, is perhaps the most crucial section of the initiative. The vast majority of the spending and power abuses now taking place in the Legislature are committed by both the Rules committee and the Assembly speaker. This section of the initiative establishes the membership of the Rules committee, and it turns over several of the powers of the speaker to the Rules committee.

Whitaker: Membership on the Rules committee will be decided solely on the basis of partisanship. Each of the two caucuses (Democrats and Republicans only — independents and others are excluded) will meet in private and choose their designees. There will be no public debate and no confirmation by a majority of the house. It is axiomatic that the Rules committee members will be chosen by the dominant faction in each caucus — right wing conservatives in the Republican caucus and ultra-liberals in the Democratic caucus.

Powers

§9912. Powers of the Assembly Committee on Rules

(a) The Assembly Committee on Rules shall have the power:

(1) To assign all bills to Assembly committees.

(2) To appoint the Chairmen and Vice-chairmen of all other Assembly Committees, provided that the Chairman and Vice-chairman of each committee must be members of different parties.

(3) To have general direction over the Assembly Chamber and rooms set aside for the use of the Assembly, including the rooms for use by Members as private offices.

(4) To allocate all funds, staffing, and other resources necessary for the effective operation of the Assembly. Except as provided otherwise by affirmative recorded vote of two-thirds of the total membership of the committee, all funds, staffing, and resources shall be allocated proportionately by party.

Having reduced the speaker's power, the Gann initiative now defines the minority's role. Part (2) would in effect assure that Republicans get at least the vice chairmanships that were given out during the first two years of Willie Brown's speakership.

But much more important is Part (4), which would virtually assure that the minority party gets the same proportionate share of Assembly resources (staff, office space, etc.) as its share of membership in the house. Thus Republicans, with 32 members in the 80-member Assembly, would get 40 percent, or some equivalent, of whatever the Assembly spends on itself.

The minority party could get less than its proportionate share (or more) but only if the Rules committee approved by a two-thirds majority, or five votes. That means that Democrats on the committee would need to pick up one Republican vote in order to cut the Republican share. It could happen, but chances are remote. In the rest of its actions, the committee would operate under the usual majority rule.

Naylor: This section of the initiative is designed to reduce the partisanship of the Legislature and ensure that every legislator has the staff and resources needed to adequately represent his or her constituency.

Right now, the staff and resources of a legislator are less a reflection of actual work load and more a reflection of the political favoritism of the speaker. Under the Gann initiative, staff and resources would have to be allocated proportionally. Only with a two-thirds vote — and therefore the agreement of both parties — could this standard of fairness be waived. Non-partisan staff could be exempted from the proportionality requirement upon a two-thirds vote.

Whitaker: The most important part of this provision is the section requiring division of resources along strictly partisan lines. Inherent in the section are two assumptions: (1) that resources and spending are currently grossly unfair to legislative minorities, and (2) that a legislative minority is entitled to extraordinary powers.

First of all, most legislative expenditures are presently equal and nonpartisan. In a larger context, however, this section embodies an inevitable corollary to the abandonment of the concept of majority rule which, of course, is what the Gann initiative seeks.

Majority rule is so much a part of the American landscape that there is scarcely an organization — from professional groups to labor unions, from corporate shareholders' organizations to PTA's — that is not organized or operated on this basis. To speak of a democratic system of government based upon anything other than majority rule is to conjure up a radical aberration of democracy itself.

Proportional division of resources and power is just such an aberration. For example, George Deukmejian was elected governor by the slimmest of margins. Would anyone seriously suggest that his opponent, Tom Bradley, should receive a proportionate share of the governor's power to make appointments?

And yet the proponents of the Gann initiative advance such notions as not only fair but necessary to protect the fundamental rights of the minority. What we have here is a minority so disenchanted with its ability to become a majority that they have decided to destroy the powers of the majority.

§9912. Powers of the Assembly Committee on Rules.

(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law or rule, neither the Chairman nor any member or agent of the Assembly Committee on Rules shall have the power to perform any action on behalf of the committee, including but not limited to the making of contracts, the payment of claims, the allocation of office space, or the hiring or dismissal of staff, without the express authorization of two-thirds of the total membership of the committee. Such authorization shall apply only to the matter or matters under immediate consideration.

This provision makes it more difficult for the committee to delegate its considerable power to individual members or staff. Currently, the committee can delegate its powers by simple majority vote; this provision would raise the requirement to two-thirds, thereby requiring that the minority party be in on the action.

Naylor: The worst spending abuse now being practiced by the Legislature is the doling out of "sweetheart" contracts for hundreds of thousands of taxpayer dollars with no public hearing or committee vote. The contracts need only one man's signature — that of the Rules committee chairman.

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Every sweetheart contract brought to light by the press thus far has been awarded to a close friend or associate of Speaker Willie Brown. The taxpayer-financed contracts have included:

— a $132,000 contract to the speaker's campaign aide, Richie Ross, to help Democrats with their district office operations;

— a $20,000 contract for former Brown-employee Gloria Molina, whose time on contract coincided directly with her run for election to the Assembly. Molina was paid to study teen age pregnancies among minority women. Despite requests from reporters, no such study has been produced;

— several contracts totaling $604,000 for attorney Joseph Remcho to wage the court battles for the Democrats against a reapportionment referendum and initiative and now, believe it or not, against the Gann initiative. Remcho is still on contract;

— two contracts of over $28,000 — the latest discovery — to the controversial mayor of Berkeley, Eugene "Gus" Newport, to carry out research on plant closures and other consulting services.

These contracts are awarded secretly, with no vote of the Rules committee and no public hearing. Each of the contracts was for work which it appears could just as easily been carried out by the Legislature's own staff.

Whitaker: This section removes the ability of the Assembly Committee on Rules to designate any agent (chair, member or staff) to oversee the day-to-day administration of the Assembly. Every transaction, no matter how trivial, will require the seal of approval of two-thirds of the committee members. In this instance, the Gann initiative literally raises the vote required to purchase pencils to that required for impeachment.

The proponents of the Gann initiative proclaim this is a necessary reform to curb existing abuses, such as the awarding of "secret" contracts by the committee chair.

Each member of the Rules committee receives one additional staff position to assist in monitoring committee activities. Any action taken by a committee agent is subject to review and discussion by the committee at the request of any member. Contracts, in particular, are public documents, and no Committee member has any excuse for being in the dark on such matters.

Senate Rules Committee

§9915. *Senate Committee on Rules*

There is hereby created in the Senate a Committee on Rules, which shall consist of the President Pro Tempore of

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the Senate, who shall be the chairman of the committee, and four other Members of the Senate, two to be elected by the party having the largest number of Members in the Senate and two to be elected by the party having the second largest number of Members.

The Senate is already run by a five-member Committee on Rules with the president pro tempore, now David Roberti, as its chairman. Thus, the changes under Gann would not be as extensive as they would be in the Assembly. Traditionally, the majority and minority parties in the Senate have split the Rules committee membership 3-2, as it would be under Gann. However, the split is informal. Formally, Rules committee members are elected by the Senate as a whole and — unlike the Assembly — any member may run.

By replacing the informal partisanship of the Senate with a formal procedure, the Gann initiative would end a unique situation existing in the upper house. Last year, after Rules committee member Ray Johnson of Chico quit the Republican Party in a huff over reapportionment, Senate Republicans wanted him removed from the committee so that they could put a Republican in his place. But Democrats refused and Johnson stayed on, giving the committee a line-up of three Democrats, one Republican and one independent, Johnson. Under Gann, Johnson would have to go.

Naylor — Under the Gann initiative, the Senate Rules committee and the Assembly Rules committee will operate under identical provisions. The state Senate currently operates under a system similar to what the Gann initiative will require. But there is nothing in statute to prevent abuses from occurring in the Senate in the future.

Whitaker: The observations regarding the Assembly Committee on Rules are appropriate here as well.

Powers

§996. *Powers of the Senate Committee on Rules*

(a) The Senate Committee on Rules shall have the power:

(1) To asssign all bills to Senate committees.

(2) To appoint the Chairmen and Vice-chairmen of all other Senate committees, provided that the Chairmen and Vice-chairman of each committee must be members of different parties.

(3) To have general direction over the Senate Chamber and rooms set aside for the use of the Senate, including the rooms for use by members as private offices.

(4) To allocate all funds, staffing, and other resources necessary for the effective operation of the Senate. Except as decided otherwise by affirmative recorded vote of two-thirds of the total membership of the committee, all funds, staffing, and resources shall be allocated proportionately by party.

As in the Assembly, this section guarantees the minority party a chairmanship or vice-chairmanship of every committee and a proportionate share of whatever the Senate spends on itself, subject to change by the same two-thirds rule. On the five-member Rules committee, a two-thirds majority is four votes.

Naylor: As in the Assembly, the Senate will have chairmen and vice-chairmen of different parties under Gann. This section also extends the same safeguards to the Senate as the Assembly — a provision that the Rules committee chairman cannot "act on behalf of" the committee without the permission of two-thirds of the committee membership.

Whitaker: Under the existing rules of the Senate, the Rules committee functions in essentially the same manner as Gann proposes. However, rather than a strict requirement that the chair and vice-chair be selected from different political parties, the current rules require that:

"In making committee appointments, the Committee on Rules shall give consideration to seniority, preference and experience; provided, however, that in making committee

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appointments, the Rules committee shall, as far as practicable, give equal representation to all parts of the state."

In a state as diverse and as large as California, it is difficult to understand how the substitution of partisanship for considerations of geographical balance, seniority, preference and experience will enhance the ability of Senate committees to respond to the needs of the people of this state.

Legislative Rules and Procedures

§9920. Rules

Each house of the Legislature shall adopt rules for its proceedings for each regular and special session by resolution adopted by an affirmative recorded vote of two-thirds of the membership of the house in question. No rule of either the Senate or Assembly shall be amended except by resolution adopted by an affirmative recorded vote of two-thirds of the members of that house. Any standing rule of either house may be suspended temporarily by a vote of two-thirds of the Members of that house present and voting; provided, that in no case may a rule be suspended in the absence of a quorum. Any such temporary suspension shall apply only to the matter under immediate consideration, and in no case shall it extend beyond an adjournment.

Currently, each house of the Legislature adopts its operating rules by a majority vote. The Senate is a little more relaxed about things, allowing rules to be adopted by a majority of those present and voting. The Assembly requires an absolute majority of the 80-member house, or 41 votes.

By raising the requirement to a two-thirds vote, the Gann initiative would give new bargaining power to any group of lawmakers with enough votes between them to block the adoption of rules. (The two-thirds majority requires 54 votes in the 80-member Assembly and 27 in the 40-member Senate.)

Thus, the situation could resemble that which occurs every year when the state budget, which also requires a two-thirds majority, comes up for passage. Many compromises and deals must be made to get the measure through. (However, the sense of urgency might not be the same. If no bargain could be struck, the Legislature would continue operation under rules from the previous year.)

Until the start of the current two-year session (1983-84), the Assembly rules contained an important two-thirds provision: two-thirds of those present and voting had to approve any suspension of the rules. Thus, if someone wished to have the Assembly vote on a bill before the measure would ordinarily appear on the agenda, he or she had to win two-thirds support. Such action is often necessary to push through controversial bills during the hectic final hours of each session when hundreds of moribund measures clog the agenda and an active bill will die if not approved before the deadline. Fearful that Republicans might use the requirement to harass them, Assembly Democrats abolished the two-thirds requirement. To suspend an Assembly rule now requires a majority vote, as it has in the Senate all along.

Naylor: Two years ago, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and Rules committee chairman Lou Papan bulldozed through a change allowing the Legislature to suspend its rules with just a majority vote. A 132-year-old tradition requiring suspension of legislative rules by a two-thirds vote was thrown out the window.

The present system is tantamount to having no rules at all — the majority can do as it pleases, when it pleases, with a perfunctory vote. The Gann initiative would restore the longstanding tradition of bi-partisan rules by requiring a two-thirds vote to adopt or suspend the rules. If the Legislature were ever to deadlock over rule adoption, the prior rules would simply remain in effect.

Whitaker: In order to fully understand the significance of this change, it is necessary to understand that the rules are nothing less than the procedures by which the business of the Legislature is undertaken. The rules prescribe the mechanism by which bills are referred to committee, committee jurisdictions, the establishment of committees and all other matters relating to the operation of each house on which statutes and the California Constitution are silent.

The constitution confers upon the minority party in each house the power to mitigate abuses by the majority. That power derives from the necessity of a two-thirds majority to adopt a state budget and other fiscal bills. The power of the majority lies in its ability to organize each house. By giving a minority of each house veto power over the rules, that minority can not only protect itself from abuses by the majority, it can impose its will upon the majority in every aspect of the operation of the state's legislative bodies.

It is true that the majority could continue to rule if the Gann initiative were adopted but only if the minority expressly relinquished the extraordinary veto powers which this so-called reform proposal confers upon them.

How likely is such a giving up of power? Far more likely will be a series of straight horse-trades to secure a two-thirds vote for the rules. The rules themselves and the organizational concessions leading to their adoption will then become the policy agenda for the legislative session. None of this bargaining — which will occur between the leadership of each caucus — will take place in public view.

Standing Committees

§9922. Standing committees

All standing committees of both the Senate and the Assembly, except the Senate Committee on Rules and the Assembly Committee on Rules, shall be created and the size and jurisdiction thereof established through the adoption

of or amendment to the rules of the respective houses by resolution, two-thirds of the membership of the house in question concurring. Committee membership shall be determined in the following manner:

(a). The membership of each committee shall be proportional to the partisan composition of the house in question.

(b). Majority party members of each committee shall be selected by the majority party in a manner to be determined by the party caucus in each house.

(c). Minority party members of each committee shall be selected by the minority party or parties, in a manner to be determined by the party caucus or caucuses in each house.

This provision is designed to give the minority party a proportionate share of power within the all-important com-

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mittee system. Standing committees (those that regularly hear and vote on bills) would still be created by the rules of each house, but the rules, of course, would have to be adopted by a two-thirds vote. Thus, the minority could have considerable influence over the committee structure.

Currently, the speaker in the Assembly and the Rules committee in the Senate appoint all committee chairmen, vice-chairmen and other committee members. And they may do so without regard to party affiliation. Under Gann, — *as mentioned above* — the Rules committee in each house would appoint the chairman and vice-chairman (each from a different party). Under this provision, the remaining committee members would be chosen by the minority and majority parties. The provision also requires that each committee have the same proportion of majority and minority party members as the entire house.

Naylor: This section of the initiative is designed to prevent the stacking of legislative policy committees and to ensure that the talents and experience of all legislators are fully utilized.

All legislative bills must be approved by policy committees before they can be voted on by the entire membership on the floor. Under the present system, committees are stacked to prevent certain types of measures from passing out of committee. Many measures which could obtain the approval of the full Legislature are held in committee by the speaker, who appoints the committee membership.

The Gann initiative would require that committee membership be proportional to house membership.

Whitaker: Once again, we hear Paul Gann beating the drum of proportionality by party. In this particular instance, partisanship will determine membership on legislative committees. Individual committee members will be chosen in private by their caucuses.

There is no evidence to indicate that committees are unduly balanced in favor of one party against the other. Even the Assembly, which is pointed to by Paul Gann and his cohorts as the most partisan of the two houses, currently has proportional committee assignments. (There are 285 member assignments to standing committees of the Assembly — 62.1% are held by Democrtats who hold 60% of the seats in the Assembly.)

The significant change is the removal of the power to appoint committee members from the Assembly speaker and the Senate rules committee — easily identifiable and accessible sources of such power. Under this proposal, the power will rest with a nameless, faceless, shifting majority in a party caucus. Since caucus meetings are held in secret, the people who make these decisions can neither be identified nor held accountable for their decisions.

Public Meetings

§9926. Open and public meetings; public notice

Except as otherwise provided in this article, all meetings of the Assembly and Senate and the committees and subcommittees thereof, and of any conference committee, shall be open and public and all the proceedings shall be conducted openly so that the public may remain informed. All such meetings shall be held only after full and timely notice to the public published in the Journal at least two working days prior to the hearing unless longer notice is required by the Joint Rules of the Senate and Assembly, except notice may be dispensed with on extraordinary occasions by three-fifths affirmative recorded vote of the house in question.

Legislative rules already require open meetings. However, open meetings are of little value if the public is not told the time and place in advance. Although current rules require advance notices, the notices may be waived by majority vote for some meetings and by two-thirds majority for others. This provision would make the requirement uniform by setting a three-fifths majority for all.

Naylor: The present system does not contain the safeguards needed for adequate public input and press coverage of the Legislature's actions. Bills have been rewritten in last-minute conference committees with no public input or press coverage. The people's right to know what their elected representatives are up to is hardly served with so few safeguards.

The Gann initiative will shed more sunlight on the Legislature by requiring open, public meetings and timely notice of hearings. It also will become more difficult for legislators to fool the public about how they vote.

Whitaker: This particular section represents one of the numerous instances in which the Gann initiative repeals existing provisions of state law and reenacts them several lines later in the spirit of "reform."

In 1973 the Legislature enacted the Grunsky-Burton Open Meeting Act (Government Code, Section 9027). That act, which the Gann initiative repeals, contains virtually all of the provisions enumerated above, including the imposition of criminal penalties and the right of redress for violation of the law (Sections 9030, 9031).

Legislative Spending

§9934. Limits upon public expenditure

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, within 30 days following the enactment of this chapter, the total amount of monies appropriated for the support of the Legislature, including but not limited to all monies appropriated to the Senate Contingent Fund, the Assembly Contingent Fund, the Contingent Funds of the Senate and Assembly, for legislative printing, and for aids to the Legislature as described in Part 2 of this title, shall be reduced by an amount equal to thirty percent of the total amount of monies appropriated for support of the Legislature for the 1983-84 fiscal year, and the amount so reduced shall revert to the General Fund. For each fiscal year thereafter, the total amount of monies appropriated for support of the Legislature shall not exceed an amount equal to that expended for support in the preceding fiscal year, adjusted and compounded by an amount equal to the percentage increase or decrease in state General Fund spending for that fiscal year.

This provision suggests that the Gann initiative will require the Legislature to reduce its spending on itself. However, that is not the case. The Legislature may do so, but there is no requirement. This is so because the appropriation to be reduced has not yet been established and the Legislature need not establish it until after the June 5th primary election.

The initiative requires that the appropriation (whatever it may be) be reduced by an amount equal to 30 percent of the Legislature's spending on itself for the current fiscal year, 1983-84. Since the spending will total about $113 million, the amount would be $37 million.

If the Gann initiative wins approval June 5th, legislators could simply appropriate an additional $37 million for themselves in the new fiscal year, 1984-85, which begins July 1st. Thus, they could make the required reduction and still have as much as before.

Naylor: Legislative spending has risen by more than 100 percent since passage of Proposition 13. This is twice the rate of inflation, and the comparable rate of increase for

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school funding in California during the same period was 24 percent. While the rest of the state has cut back on spending increases, the California Legislature has known no limits. There currently are no incentives to hold down increases in legislative spending or to in any way conserve the public's money. As *Time Magazine* has written, "California assemblymen and senators spend more on their own care and feeding than lawmakers in any other state."

The Gann initiative would immediately cut 30 percent from this year's legislative budget and would require that future spending increases not exceed that year's increase in general fund spending.

Whitaker: In the course of promoting this initiative, its proponents have heralded this 30 percent cut in legislative spending as the most far-reaching of the initiative's provisions. Cutting government spending is, after all, Paul Gann's shibboleth. This provision is, in fact, nothing more than a shabby campaign gimmick.

Any careful review of the record will reveal that since fiscal year 1968-69, the increase in legislative spending has averaged 12 percent per year. During the same period, general fund spending has grown at an average rate of 12.2 percent per year. Thus for the last fifteen years the growth in legislative spending has lagged behind the growth in general fund spending. Furthermore, at no time during the last fifteen years has legislative spending ever amounted to more than one-half of one percent (0.5 percent) of the state's general fund. To suggest that a 30 percent cut in legislative spending will have any impact on the state's fiscal health, the restoration of cuts in other programs, or the rate of growth of state government is not only inaccurate, but deceitful as well.

Spending reports

§9936. Reports to public on expenditures made from contingent funds; contents

(a) For the periods beginning December 1, March 1, June 1, and September 1 of each year, the Assembly Committee on Rules, Senate Committee on Rules, and the Joint Rules Committee shall quarterly issue a report to the public on the expenditures made from the contingent fund subject to their direction and control. The report shall include, but need not be limited to, a listing of total expenditures for each member and committee of the Legislature in the following categories:

(1) Out-of-state travel and living expense reimbursement and in-state travel and living expense reimbursement, (2) Automotive expenses, (3) Rent, (4) Telephone, (5) Postage, (6) Printing, (7) Office supplies, (8) Newsletters, (9) Per diem for attendance at legislative sessions, (10) Staff salaries and expenses, (11) Contracts entered into with any other party.

Current rules require the Legislature to make annual reports showing the amounts of money that go to each member under various headings, such as per diem payments received while on legislative business. The initiative would require reports to be published quarterly and would add considerable detail.

Naylor: This section of the initiative will inject more sunshine and accountability into legislative expenditures. At present, an annual report of legislative spending is issued approximately 8 months after the calendar year has ended.

The Gann initiative will require quarterly expenditure reports to be released to the public and it will expand the list of items included. The initiative also will require annual detailed audits of the Legislature. At present, audits have been completed on an informal basis, but there is no requirement for them.

Whitaker: In 1975, the Legislature enacted the Open Records Act (Government Code Sections 9070-9079), giving the public the right to scrutinize all legislative spending documents at any time. In addition, Government Code Section 9131 already requires the Legislature to report annually on all expenditures by each of its members. Once again, these are not "reforms," but rather a replication of existing law and practice which would have no impact beyond a quadrupling of the printing costs of such reports.

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OREGON'S "CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT"

Similar to Prop 20, law tempers political rhetoric

By RUSSELL SADLER

If Californians approve Proposition 20 on the ballot in June, it still may be a while before a politician is thrown out of office for having lied during an election campaign. At least, that's how it looks from Oregon, where a similar law has been on the books since 1909.

The Oregon law is part of an old reform package known unofficially as the "Corrupt Practices Act." According to C. Gregory McMurdo, an attorney and deputy secretary of state, only one candidate ever has been penalized because of it and the same sort of situation could not occur again.

Nevertheless, Secretary of State Norma Paulus (who is in charge of Oregon elections) echoes many politicos over the years who have said they are glad that the law is on the books. "It does tend to temper high blown political rhetoric. I think it makes the candidates more careful with their facts."

The California proposal would amend the state constitution to allow the removal of an officeholder found guilty of making libelous or slanderous statements against an opponent in a political campaign. Currently, the campaign loser may sue the winner for libel or slander, but there is no way short of a recall for the loser to oust the winner from his job.

Actually, it's not quite that simple. There are two other conditions: The offensive statements had to have been a major factor in the loser's defeat and the winner had to have made them recklessly or knowing that they were false.

The Oregon law is a little different. It requires the loser to prove — not that he was libeled or slandered — but that the winner made a "false statement of material fact." Thus, the Oregon law is broader than the proposed California provision, allowing losers to challenge virtually anything that the winner might have said. However, the two other conditions mentioned above also apply.

The only penalty

The only penalty under the law was handed down in 1968 against a state Senate candidate named Alice Corbett. She had been a senator but had been out of office two years when she urged voters to "Re-elect Alice Corbett." Her opponent filed suit, contending that she was falsely portraying herself as the incumbent when she was not. The state Supreme Court agreed and voided the Democratic nomination she had won.

Russell Sadler is a syndicated columnist and radio and television reporter who has been covering Oregon politics since 1971.

Because the Oregon law is a statute rather than a part of the state constitution (as the California proposal would be), it must bow to state constitutional provisions that allow each house of the Legislature to judge the qualifications of its members. As a result, legislative races are exempt from the ouster law. The court could penalize Corbett because she was not a legislator, but a nominee. However, says McMurdo, new laws have given nominees the same protection, meaning that the Corbett case could not happen again.

None of which says that legislative races are totally outside the corrupt-practices law. Fearful that ouster from office might be an unconstitutionally severe penalty for election rhetoric, the Legislature in 1973 amended the law to allow losing candidates to seek money damages from liars along with their ouster. Thus, legislators may be sued for false statements of fact.

But, says McMurdo, not only have there been no ousters, there have been no money awards either. Why? Because the Oregon courts, despite the bit of judicial activism in the Corbett case of 1968, have been most unanxious to get involved. In a series of rulings over recent years, they have said in effect that any statement that can be interpreted in any way to contain even a smidgin of truth will not be called a lie.

Weakening the impact

Thus, they have held that a candidate for the Legislature did not lie when he called a certain district his home even though he did not live there. The reason? He owned property in the district. In its most recent ruling, handed down only last February, the Supreme Court seemed to go even further, saying that a candidate had not lied when he declared that an opponent had voted for a statewide property tax when no such vote had occurred.

In that case *(Committee of 1000 to elect Walt Brown vs. Eivers)*, Brown had voted for a measure to finance economic development projects through the sale of general obligation bonds. As in all such cases, if the bonds could not be repaid through conventional methods (revenue from the project, legislative appropriation, etc.) a new tax would have been required to raise the money. But that has never happened in the history of the state and there were no predictions that it would happen this time. But, said the court, it's a possibility and therefore the statement was not false.

John Reuling, special counsel to the Oregon attorney general, says that despite such court rulings the anti-lie law continues to have effect. "The impact has always been political rather than legal," he says, explaining that the law serves as a platform upon which candidates may display their accusations against each other. Thus, the audience — the voters — makes the final judgement.

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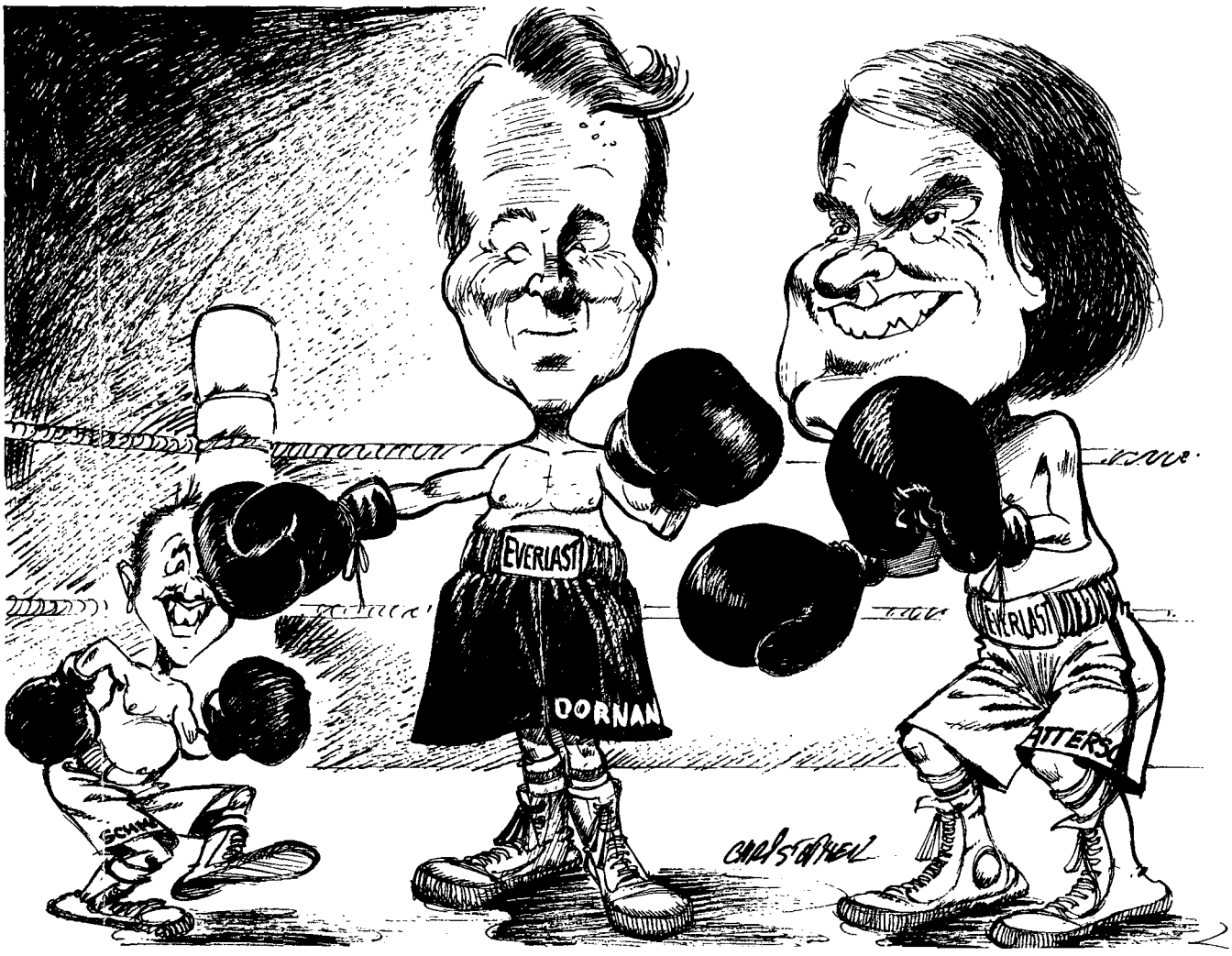
Dornan vs. Patterson: Who will prove Mr. Right?



By LARRY PETERSON

Orange County political junkies got a shot in the arm recently when former Republican Congressman Robert Dornan decided to take on the county's only Democratic member of Congress — Jerry Patterson of Garden Grove.

Before that announcement, it was going to be one dull 1984 election year because of the way the recent redistricting plan had shored up area incumbents. That plan seemed to have rescued Patterson who had just survived his stiffest-ever reelection challenge from Republican Bill Dohr in 1982. The new boundaries — drawn by Patterson's former Democratic colleague, the late Phil Burton of San Francisco — swelled Democratic registration in Patterson's 38th Congressional District from 50 to 55 percent. The former Santa Ana mayor seemed assured of winning a sixth term come November.

Enter Dornan, a conservative Republican who, from 1976 to 1982, represented the Santa Monica-area 27th Congressional District — about an hour's freeway ride from the 38th. In 1982 he gave up reelection to the House to run unsuccessfully for the GOP nomination to the U.S. Senate, losing to Pete Wilson. While in Congress, Dornan was best known as an advocate of the B-1 bomber and for originating the POW-MIA bracelet widely worn during the 1970s to keep alive the memory of American servicemen held prisoner or missing in action in Southeast Asia.

More important, the 50-year-old former talk-show host is a prolific fund raiser who has built a national constituency among partisans of the New Right. From 1976 to 1982, Dornan raised $4.75 million, much of it through

Larry Peterson is political editor for the Santa Ana Register *and a frequent contributor to the* Journal.

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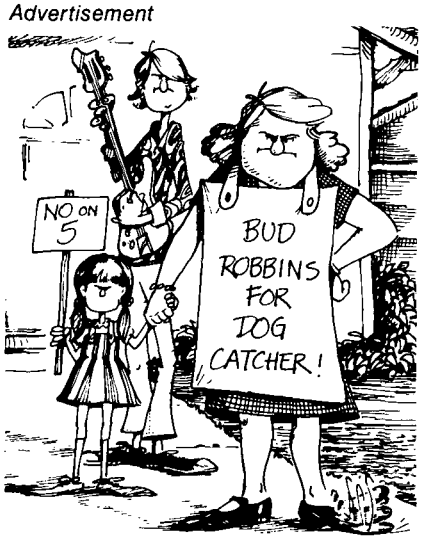

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arch-conservative Richard Viguerie's direct-mail money operation — which is still at Dornan's disposal. He also has a 40,000-name mailing list left over from his 1982 Senate campaign. These are assets Dornan plans to harness to exploit what he believes is Patterson's weakness: a liberal voting record that clashes with the relatively conservative outlook of his district.

Certainly, the district leans toward the right. In 1980, President Ronald Reagan beat Jimmy Carter there by better than two-to-one. More important, GOP senatorial candidate Paul Gann lost to incumbent Alan Cranston by less than three percent — a far better showing than Gann did statewide, where he lost by 20 percent. Not that these numbers spell automatic doom for Patterson in the 38th District. A 1981 poll, taken in the district for Republicans by V. Lance Tarrance and Associates, showed that respondents considered themselves conservatives rather than liberals by a margin of two-to-one — but almost a third of them thought of Democrat Patterson as a fellow conservative.

As Patterson himself points out, his voting record — which he describes as "moderate and independent" — isn't all that liberal when compared with other House Democrats from California. In 1981, for example, he voted for several of Reagan's tax-cut and budget proposals, and he now supports a Democrat-sponsored plan to balance the federal budget.

Dornan's record

Nevertheless, his record contrasts sharply with Dornan's — rated high on almost every conservative scorecard. And Dornan thinks Patterson's record on social issues may cause him the most trouble. In that area, *National Journal* rated Patterson 93 percent liberal and only three percent conservative in 1982. Dornan believes he can score political points by contrasting his record with Patterson, who has supported funding for abortion and voted against prayer in public schools.

Although Patterson says he's not worried, he concedes one concern: Dornan's ability to bag big political bucks. Dornan raised $1.9 million for his 1980 reelection effort while the most Patterson ever took in was $278,994 in 1981-82. But he also thinks Dornan is vulnerable and accuses him of carpetbagging, a poor voting attendance record in Congress and using Orange County as a stepping-stone to the U.S. Senate. Indeed, Dornan's voting attendance record fell below 70 percent when he ran for the Senate in 1982, and he makes no secret of his desire to run again in the future.

The carpetbagging charge, too, could hurt Dornan, for while members of Congress aren't required to live in the district they represent, candidates with little connection to a district can expect residency to become a campaign issue (see "Carpetbaggers" in the March 1984 *Journal*). Dornan responds that Patterson, too, lived outside the district — although by a matter of blocks — when first elected to Congress back in 1974.

Not that Dornan has the GOP nomination entirely in the bag. While Patterson is running unopposed on the Democratic side, Dornan will face two opponents in the GOP primary: former congressman and state Senator John Schmitz and Santa Ana attorney-businessman Steve Knoblock. Schmitz is an arch-conservative trying for a political comeback following 1982 revelations that he fathered two illegitimate children. Knoblock is active in the Moral Majority.

Thus, no matter who wins the GOP primary, it is virtually assured that Patterson's opponent will be a man of the Right. But whether he — or Patterson — will be perceived as Mr. Right by voters in the 38th Congressional District remains to be seen.

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Complete list of candidates and analysis of all 145 races

By A. G. BLOCK

Except for the Democratic presidential primary, the June 1984 election won't provide many fireworks. To start with, for the first time in 12 years there is no statewide race at the top of the ticket. Second, no ballot initiative is as controversial or as important to as many voters as was, for example, the Peripheral Canal referendum two years ago. And third, only a handful of incumbent congressman and state legislators have significant primary opposition.

If neither Walter Mondale nor Gary Hart has collected enough delegates to make him the odds-on favorite before June, most interest will focus on the Democrats' presidential primary, which could put one or the other over the top. Thus, it could be the first presidential primary of any significance in this state since 1972. New rules mandate the direct election of delegates by congressional district (see *CJ*, December 1983) and the names of all are listed beginning on page 165. On the Republican side, there is only one candidate — Ronald Reagan.

Of the initiatives, the Gann measure will be hotly contested. But because Gann deals with the inner workings of the Legislature (see special section), the debate may be restricted to those with a special interest in state government.

Finally, there are the primaries for Congress, the state Senate and Assembly. Reapportionment gave most incumbents safe districts, thus discouraging significant candidates from entering the opposition party's primary. (Incumbents have always been relatively safe from challenge from within their own party.) As a result, in 145 district races (80 Assembly, 45 congressional and 20 Senate), only two incumbents drew threatening primary opponents. Four other districts — two Senate and two Assembly — have no incumbent in the running and therefore merit some attention. As does the 38th congressional district where Republicans John Schmitz and Robert Dornan are vying for the right to face Democratic incumbent Jerry Patterson in the fall.

Aside from the dearth of contests, the legislative primaries are unusual for one other reason: the presence of 35 Democratic primary candidates backed by Lyndon LaRouche's conservative splinter group, the National Democratic Policy Committee. NDPC's candidates are concentrated mostly against liberals in California's congressional delegation, although Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Senate President Pro Tem David Roberti and Assembly Rules committee chair Lou Papan have drawn them as well. The Virginia-based LaRouche, 62, is running for president and has also filed a full slate of delegates for the state's Democratic presidential primary (see page 165). The list of NDPC candidates, identified in district analyses as Larouche-backed, was provided by LaRouche representatives in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Congress: Little ado about nothing

This year's congressional primary will be as quiet as a ski slope at midnight. There are two reasons for it. First, the latest reapportionment made most incumbents safe, thus discouraging interesting primary battles in the opposition party. And second, every incumbent is running for reelection.

It is not surprising that the only primary battle of consequence comes in a district that is still considered marginal: the 38th, over Orange County way. There, two GOP warhorses — Robert Dornan and John Schmitz — will go at it for the right to square off against incumbent Democrat Jerry Patterson in the fall.

The 38th District could provide most of the fireworks in the November as well. Early predictions are that the only other races worth watching at all will involve incumbents Patterson, Ron Dellums, Barbara Boxer and George Brown Jr.

District 1 (54% D-33% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Doug Bosco of Occidental. Republicans: Ed Brown of Montgomery Creek, James Fatland of Santa Rosa and David Redick of Windsor.

Bosco, who defeated 10-term Congressman Don Clausen in 1982, is unopposed in the primary. On the Republican side, Redick is considered the favorite, but he is no threat to Bosco in November.

District 2 (50% D-39% R) — Republican: Incumbent Gene Chappie of Chico. Democrats: Harry W. Cozad of Chico, Harland D. Lundberg of Richvale and Merton Short of Oroville.

Chappie's margin of victory slipped a bit in 1982 but not enough to signal a change in outlook by district voters. Of the Democratic candidates, Short is funded by Lyndon LaRouche.

District 3 (58% D-31%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Robert Matsui and William Watkins of Sacramento.

Matsui won with 90 percent of the vote in 1982.

District 4 (57% D-30% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Vic Fazio of West Sacramento. Republicans: Roger Canfield and Stephen Waltrip of Citrus Heights. Libertarian: Roger Pope of Sacramento.

Since he last went before voters, Fazio has sponsored a Congressional pay hike — an action that won friends in Washington but few votes in his district. On the GOP side, Waltrip is an ex-Green Beret who might spend enough to overcome Canfield's name recognition. Canfield lost big to Fazio in 1982.

How this analysis was prepared

Candidate names and voter-registration statistics were obtained from the secretary of state's office and from county registrars. Some changes may have occurred after this report was prepared because of court action, disqualification of candidates and the normal fluctuation in registration figures.

Districts designated with the key symbol are those in which the primary election outcome is considered particularly significant.

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District 5 (63% D-20% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Sala Burton and Evelyn Lantz. Republicans: Anna Guth and Tom Spinosa. Peace and Freedom: Theodore Cuur. Libertarian: Joseph Fuhrig. All are from San Francisco.

A Burton by any first name is still a Burton. Lantz is a LaRouche candidate whose husband is running against Boxer in the 6th District.

District 6 (56% D-28%d R) — Democrats: Incumbent Barbara Boxer of Greenbrae and Brian Lantz of San Francisco. Republicans: Gregory Baka of San Rafael and Douglas Binderup of Mill Valley. Libertarian: Howard Creighton of San Rafael. Peace and Freedom: William Steinsmith of San Francisco.

Boxer had a tough fight in '82 and Democratic registration has since slipped while GOP numbers have climbed three percent. The man who might take advantage of this trend is Binderup, an articulate, well-respected city councilman from Mill Valley who is expected to win the Republican primary.

District 7 (57% D-31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent George Miller Jr. of Martinez. Republicans: Rosemary Thakar of Alamo and Gene Last of Brentwood.

No matter the Republican winner, he or she will have a tough time overcoming Miller's solid base in Contra Costa County.

District 8 (61% D-25% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Ron Dellums and Fred Lehmkuhl of Oakland, Andreas Vamis of El Cerrito. Republicans: Roger Hefferan and Charles Connor of Oakland.

Dellums' GOP opponent in 1982 ran 19 percent ahead of registration, and since then Dellums has been investigated for — and cleared of — drug charges by the House Ethics Committee. One of his primary opponents — Lehmkuhl — is a LaRouche candidate, but Dellums' real problem in this heavily black district lies ahead in November, probably against Connor. In Connor, a black banker, Republicans think they have a candidate who can pick up enough black Democratic votes to overcome the district's Democratic registration. There is also the independent candidacy of former Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver. If he runs, he could take enough black votes from Dellulms to allow Connor to squeak through.

District 9 (60% D-28% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Fortney "Pete" Stark of Oakland. Republicans: J. T. Eager Beaver of San Leandro. Libertarian: Martha Fuhrigh of Hayward.

In 1982 Stark had a tough campaign against an aggressive Republican. This year, his GOP opponent is an 80-year-old who recently changed his name to Eager Beaver.

District 10 (61% D-25% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Don Edwards and Lynn Fooks of San Jose. Republicans: John Jarrett of Fremont and Robert Herriott of Milpitas. American Independent Party: Edmund V. Kaiser of Fremont. Libertarian: Perr Cardestan of San Jose.

Fooks is backed by LaRouche, but Edwards should have little problem in the primary. For Republicans, Herriott is the strongest candidate, although he ran poorly against Edwards in 1982. In November, look for Republicans to hammer at Edwards' preoccupation with his House leadership role at the expense of district problems.

District 11 (57% D-31% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Tom Lantos of Hillsborough and Lawrence Schenk of San Mateo. Republican: John "Jack" Hickey of Redwood City. American Independent Party: Nicholas Kudrovzeff of Pacifica.

Lantos is a money machine who should have little trouble with his LaRouche organization opponent. Old antagonist and former GOP Congressman Bill Royer evidently had enough after losing twice to Lantos in 1980 and 1982.

District 12 (44% D-42% R) — Republican: Incumbent Ed Zschau of Los Altos. Democrats: Martin Carnoy of Menlo Park and Richard Mattoon of Sunnyvale. Libertarian: William White of Los Altos.

Zschau looks unbeatable. On the Democratic side, Mattoon is funded by LaRouche.

District 13 (52% D-34% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Norm Minetta. Republicans: John Williams and Andreas Dias. Libertarian: John Redding. All are from San Jose.

Minetta, former mayor of San Jose, ran well ahead of registration in 1982 and nothing has happened since to change the outlook.

District 14 (50% D-39% R) — Republicans: Incumbent Norman Shumway of Stockton. Democrats: Ruth Carlson of Penryn, Robert Lawrence of Alturas and Donald Malberg of Lincoln. Libertarian: Fred William Colburn of Meadow Vista.

Shumway is now comfortably ensconced in all that new territory he gained as a result of the latest redistricting.

District 15 (58% D-33% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tony Coelho of Merced. Republican: Carole Harner of Mariposa. Libertarian: Richard Harris of Mariposa.

Coelho was thought to be in trouble in '82 — and won by 40,000 votes. This year, he's not even in trouble.

District 16 (49% D-36% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Leon Panetta of Carmel Valley. Republican: Patricia Smith Ramsey of Carmel. Libertarian: William Anderson of Capitola.

Like other districts in the Carmel valley, this one could be rated as marginal. But Panetta has worked hard to please his constituents and, as a result, polled 85 percent of the vote in 1982.

District 17 (54% D-38% R) — Republican: Charles "Chip" Pashayan of Fresno. Democrats: Keith Anderson of Fresno and Simon Lakritz of Hanford.

This is a marginal district for either party, but Democrats felt a strong candidate could knock off Pashayan. Trouble was, none of their area heavyweights wanted to try. Assemblyman Jim Costa refiled for the Assembly and Fresno Mayor Dan Whitehurst is still paying off his U.S. Senate campaign debt from two years ago. As a result, Pashayan will return — unscathed — to Congress.

District 18 (61% D-30% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Rick Lehman of Fresno. Republican: Dale Ewen of Groveland.

Lehman beat a tougher Republican in 1982.

District 19 (49% D-37% R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert Lagomarsino of Ventura. Democrats: Wayne Norris and James C. Carey Jr. of Santa Barbara and Todd Dosher of Ventura. Peace and Freedom: Charles Zekan of Santa Barbara.

Again, a Democratic heavyweight — state Senator Gary Hart — decided not to run despite pressure from congressional Democrats. As a result, there is no Democrat strong enough to unseat the still-popular "Lago." TV anchorwoman Christine Craft had wanted to run as a Democrat but wasn't in the party long enough to qualify for the ballot.

District 20 (49% D-41% R) — Republican: Incumbent Bill Thomas of Bakersfield. Democrats: Francis Serra of Bakersfield, Michael LeSage of Paso Robles and William Richardson of Pismo Beach.

Thomas can represent this district as long as he wants it.

District 21 (42% D-47% R) — Republican: Incumbent Bobbi Fiedler of Northridge. Democrats: Charles Davis of Thousand Oaks and George Margolis of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Robert Leet of Canoga Park.

So can Fiedler.

District 22 (37% D-54% R) — Republican: Incumbent Carlos Moorhead of Glendale. Libertarian: Michael Yauch of Pasadena.

Ditto for Moorhead.

ROSTER UP-DATE

Listed below are recent changes and corrections in the **California Journal Roster** published in the February 1984 issue.

Page 2 Governor's office:

Jesse Huff has been named permanent director of the Department of Finance.

Page 4 Youth & Adult Correction Agency:

The correct name of the director of the Department of Corrections is Daniel McCarthy.

Page 7:

The correct zip code for the U.S. Senate is 20510.

Page 8:

The new phone number for Assemblyman Bates' district office is (415) 540-3176.

The correct phone number for Assemblyman Bronzan's district office is (209) 445-5532. Add Suite 250 to the address.

The correct Capitol phone number for Assemblyman Connelly is 445-2484.

Page 12:

Moore replaces Goggin on Criminal Law and Public Safety. Drop Davis from Education.

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District 23 (57% D-33% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Anthony Beilenson of Beverly Hills and Wanda Dastig of Los Angeles. Republicans: Frank Mazzi of Santa Monica and Claude Parrish of Tarzana. Libertarian: Larry Leathers of Beverly Hills.

The LaRouche candidate is Dastig who poses no threat to Beilenson. Nor does any Republican.

District 24 (60% D-28% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Henry Waxman and Mary Platt. Republicans: Roland Cayard and Jerry Zerg. Libertarian: Tim Custer. Peace and Freedom: James Green and John Honigsfeld. All are from Los Angeles.

With the death last year of Phil Burton, Waxman became even more prominent among Democrats in the House. His base in the West Los Angeles community is too rock-solid for the LaRouche candidate — Platt — or any Republican to penetrate. For Republicans, Zerg was defeated soundly by Waxman in '82.

District 25 (70% D-20% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Ed Roybal and Tim Pike. Republicans: Roy Bloxom and Howard Steninger. Libertarian: Anthony Bajada. All are from Los Angeles.

Roybal, too, drew a LaRouche opponent — but not much opposition.

District 26 (59% D-32% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Howard Berman and William Kurdi of Los Angeles. Republican: Miriam Ojeda of Mission Hills.

Kurdi, a LaRouche candidate, ran against Berman in a 1980 primary for the state Assembly — and got 15 percent of the vote.

District 27 (57% D-31% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Mel Levine and Rodney Sabel of Santa Monica. Republicans: Lionel Allen of Los Angeles and Robert Scribner of Pacific Pallisades. Libertarian: Jeff Avrech of Santa Monica. Peace and Freedom: Thomas O'Connor Jr. of Venice.

LaRouche candidate Sabel offers no problems for Levine in the primary. In November, he'll probably face Allen, an articulate black Republican who may give Levine a tougher-than-expected race for his first reelection.

District 28 (73% D-18% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Julian Dixon and Manuel Talley. Republican: Beatrice Jett. Libertarian: Don Federick. All are from Los Angeles.

Talley is not a LaRouche candidate, but he has no chance to win either.

District 29 (84% D-11% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Gus Hawkins and Mervin Evans. Republican: Echo Goto. All are from Los Angeles.

This district was made safer for a black candidate by reapportionment — but not for the 82-year-old Hawkins. It was done for Assemblywoman Maxine Waters who waits in the wings for Hawkins to retire.

District 30 (63% D-28% R) — Democrats: Marty Martinez and Gladys Danielson of Monterey Park. Republican: Richard Gomez of Montebello. American Independent Party: Houston Myers of Alhambra.

George Danielson gave up this seat when Jerry Brown made him an appellate judge in 1982. Claiming boredom on the bench, Danielson considered challenging freshman Martinez in the Democratic primary — a notion that didn't set well with congressional Democrats. They count this seat as Hispanic and served notice they would spare no expense to keep it that way. Danielson apparently got the message. Not so his wife, Gladys, who filed on her own.

District 31 (73% D-18% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Mervyn Dymally of Los Angeles and Ronald Smith of Hawthorne. Republicans: Henry Minturn of Hawthorne and Mas Odoi of Torrance. Peace and Freedom: Eddie Randolph of Compton.

A snap district for Dymally, a former lieutenant governor. His primary opponent is from the LaRouche organization.

District 32 (61% D-30% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Glenn Anderson of Harbor City and Dave Schweitzer of Long Beach. Republican: Roger Fiola of Downey. Libertarian: Marc Denny of Long Beach. Peace and Freedom: Patrick McCoy of Long Beach.

The addition of Downey — with its not-so-loyal Democrats — might make this a closer district if Republicans would mount a serious challenge. Schweitzer is backed by LaRouche.

District 33 (46% D-45% R) — Republican: Incumbent Dave Dreier of Claremont. Democrats: Paul Jeffrey of Glendora and Claire McDonald of Claremont. Libertarian: Gail Lightfoot of San Dimas. Peace and Freedom: Mike Noonan of Claremont.

Dreier's only real fight came in the 1982 primary against fellow Congressman Wayne Grisham. He should handily defeat either Democrat, including the LaRouche-supported Jeffrey.

District 34 (65% D-27% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Esteban Torres of West Covina and Frances Kelepecz of Covina. Republicans: John Dempsey of Norwalk, Pablo Grabiel of Whittier and Paul Jackson of Pico Rivera.

LaRouche is supporting Kelepecz. Torres is going back to Washington.

District 35 (44% D-44% R) — Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of San Bernardino. Democrats: (write-ins) Kevin Aiken of Riverside and R. "Sarg" Hall of Adelanto. American Independent Party: (write-in) R. "Sarg" Hall of Adelanto. Peace and Freedom: Kevin Aiken of Riverside.

At least one of the Democratic write-in candidates will be able to say he won two primaries on the same day.

District 36 (58% D-30% R) — Democrat: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Riverside. Republicans: David Just of Riverside and John Paul Stark of San Bernardino, Nina Nesbit Pierce of Ontario, Edward Vallen of Fontana and (write-in) Charles W. Maciejewski of Highland.

Republicans feel Brown could be defeated by a strong Hispanic candidate, but the man they had in mind decided to run against Democrat Steve Clute in the 68th Assembly District. If, as most expect, Stark wins the GOP primary, it will set up Brown-Stark III. Brown won the first two (despite a 1980 Reagan landslide in the district). But Republicans consider him still vulnerable. With so few chances for the GOP to unseat a Democrat this year, look for a lot of money to pour in here.

District 37 (47% D-43% R) — Republican: Incumbent Alfred A. McCandless of Palm Desert and Bud Mathewson of Banning. Democrats: Mel Gurtov of Riverside, Johnny Pearson of Perris, David Skinner of Perris, Galen R. Walker of Corona and Larry Wurth of Riverside.

Republicans in this district are considered soft support for McCandless, and that's one reason the Democratic primary drew a crowd. It did not, however, draw the one candidate who could win in November — conservative-minded state Senator Robert Presley. Of those that did enter, Gurtov, a UC-Riverside professor, is given the best chance to win against a field that includes LaRouche-backed Galen Walker.

District 38 (54% D-35% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Jerry Patterson and Ruth Stephenson of Garden Grove. Republicans: Robert Dornan of Buena Park, John Schmitz of Corona del Mar and Art Jacobson of Los Alamitos. Peace and Freedom: Michael Bright of Long Beach. Libertarian: Sue Waltman of El Toro.

In this marginal Democratic district, all eyes will be on the GOP primary where Schmitz is trying for a political comeback and Dornan, former member of Congress, has enough campaign money to meet the California Angels' payroll. Some consider Patterson vulnerable should Dornan defeat Schmitz, as is expected. But maybe not that vulnerable. First, Dornan and Schmitz could cut each other up badly in the primary. Second, Patterson has a better district than the one he captured in 1982. He's lost conservative sections of La Palma, Cypress and Los Alamitos and gained a tiny barrio in Anaheim and the city of Cerritos — a change that could net him two or three percent more votes come November. As in all conservative Southern California districts, Reagan's coattails remain the wild card. Expect national focus on Patterson-Dornan. Patterson's primary opponent is funded by LaRouche.

District 39 (39% D-51% R) — Republican: Incumbent Bill Dannemeyer of Fullerton. Democrats: Arthur Hoffmann of Orange and Robert Ward of Fullerton.

Hoffmann is the LaRouche candidate. Should he manage to win the Democratic primary, he can look forward to being slaughtered by Dannemeyer.

District 40 (34% D-53% R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert Badham of Newport Beach. Democrats: Ken White of Costa Mesa, Carol Bradford of Newport Beach and Don Nelson of Irvine. Peace and Freedom: Maxine Quirk of Orange.

Badham spent nearly $90,000 of taxpayers' money on travel between November 1982 and October 1983 — tops among members of Congress. That accounted for 82 days' worth of no-cost junketing for him and his wife. Only a GOP congressman from a district with 53 percent home-team registration and no primary opponent could get away with it.

District 41 (41% D-43% R) — Republican: Incumbent Bill Lowery. Democrats: Linda Carlston, Daniel Hostetter, Norman Mann and Robert Simmons. Libertarian:

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Sara Baase. All are from San Diego.
Carlston is half of the Southern California husband-and-wife team running for Congress under the LaRouche banner. Lowery is safe nonetheless.

District 42 (42% D-47% R) — Republican: Incumbent Dan Lungren of Long Beach. Democrat: Mary Lou Brophy of Seal Beach. Peace and Freedom: John Donohue of Long Beach.
A safe district for Lungren.

District 43 (34% D-52% R) — Republicans: Incumbent Ron Packard of Carlsbad and Margaret "Betty" Ferguson of San Marcos. Democrats: Lois Humphreys of Carlsbad, Kevin Schmidt of Vista and Randall Toler of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Phyllis Avery of Oceanside.
Packard won this seat two years ago as a write-in when Republicans jilted their primary winner, Johnnie Crean, because of his campaign tactics. If nothing else, that election showed Democrats have no chance in this district because their candidate finished third behind both Packard and Crean. On the Democratic side, Schmidt is backed up by LaRouche.

District 44 (58% D-28% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Jim Bates and Peter K. Carlston. Republican: Neill Campbell and Richard Lahaye. All are from San Diego.
Carlston, the other half of the LaRouche-funded husband-and-wife team, poses no threat to Bates. Nor does either Republican.

District 45 (41% D-45% R) — Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of Coronado. Democrats: David Guthrie of San Diego and Georgia Irey of Chula Vista. Libertarian: Patrick Wright of San Diego.
Hunter is embedded in this solid Republican district. Of the Democrats, Irey is supported by LaRouche.

State Senate: A Peaceful Season

The 40-member Senate fills half it seats every two years, and this is the year for odd-numbered districts. Although there will be some hot partisan races in November, the primaries — with one major exception — promise to be largely routine, if not downright dull.

Of course, "dullness" to the beholder is "peace of mind" to those being beheld. For the most part, it results from the reapportionment of 1982, which gave most incumbents safe districts and an opportunity to run virtually unopposed. The one incumbent who was denied safe boundaries — former Republican Ray Johnson of Roseville — is headed for a showdown in November.

The only hotly contested primary is in a new district with no incumbent — the 11th that sprawls through Republican territory in southern San Mateo and western Santa Clara counties. That GOP race features former Senators Marz Garcia and Dan O'Keefe, who apparently are backed by different sides in the conservative-moderate feud among Senate Republicans. Conservatives, worried about retaining minority leadership, have lined up behind O'Keefe while the shrinking band of moderates — led by Bill Campbell and Ken Maddy — have helped fund Garcia. Waiting in the wings for a winner is Democrat Arlen Gregorio — another former senator — who is a San Mateo County supervisor and popular in the district.

The 11th District is also among the handful of key races that promise to be lively in November. (Others are in the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 17th and 33rd.) Based on what happens in these districts, the GOP could emerge with its highest number of senators in a decade (18) — or with less than one-third of the upper house.

District 1 (50%D-38%R) — Independent: Incumbent Ray Johnson of Roseville. Republican: John Doolittle of Citrus Heights. Democrats: Jack C. Hornsby of Shingle Springs and Ranold Kennedy of Auburn. Libertarian: Robert M. Murphy of Grass Valley.
This saga began in 1981 when Doolittle was reapportioned out of the seat he'd won in 1980. With two years left to serve,he sought a new four-year term in the 6th District in '82 but lost to incumbent Leroy Greene. The following year, a new redistricting deal between Republicans and Democrats (made after voters rejected the original plan) gave Doolittle new life by placing his home in a redrawn 1st District. The loser in that deal was Johnson, a fellow Republican and long-time 1st District incumbent whose home was shifted elsewhere. Rather than quietly retire, as Senate Republicans had hoped, Johnson angrily quit the party, moved to a new 1st District home and declared for reelection. With both Johnson and Doolittle in the race, GOP loyalties are split. Some moderate Republicans have already rallied behind Johnson, notably Assemblyman Stan Statham who represents much of the area; conservatives are firmly behind Doolittle. Thus, the door could have opened for a Democrat. But their most attractive candidate dropped out at the last minute because polls showed that in a three-way race, he would have hurt Johnson and helped Doolittle.

District 3 (55%D-26%R) — Republican: Incumbent Milton Marks. Democrats: Lia Belli and Judy Huffman. Libertarian: Mark Pickens. Peace and Freedom: Paul Kangas. All are from San Francisco.
Don't be fooled by poor GOP registration figures. Marks, a liberal Republican, is an institution in San Francisco. In addition, redistricting has given him parts of Marin County with its increased GOP registration. He will probably be opposed in November by Lia Belli, spouse of Melvin, who can match Marks' name recognition, if not his experience. Her primary opponent is backed by LaRouche. The only unknown for Marks: How much animosity is left among Burtonites who resented Marks' congressional challenge to the late Phil just two years ago?

District 5 (56%D-34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent John Garamendi of Walnut Grove. Republicans: John W. Saunders III of Murphys and Robert J. Slade of Stockton. Peace and Freedom: Nancy J. Warner of Acampo.
The only novelty in this race is that Saunders is an actor who once doubled for Clint Eastwood. Should he win the primary, wags have already dubbed the November election "Battle of the Rhinestone Cowboys." Republicans have slim hopes that Saunders can unseat the Senate's majority leader — if only because Governor Deukmejian ran well here in 1982.

District 7 (56%D-33%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Dan Boatwright of Concord and Diana L. Patrick of Martinez. Republican: Walter W. Layson of Concord.
Boatwright was cleared last month in a conflict-of-interest case, but some of the testimony — like that from his former lover — could hurt him. However, this is a conservative district, and Boatwright's primary opponent, Patrick, is considered a liberal with ties to the United Farm Workers. She's also connected with the people who brought the court action against Boatwright. Despite Boatwright's problems, Republicans had trouble coming up with a viable candidate. Layson, a Ph.D. political scientist from UC-Berekeley, is not considered much of a threat. The man the GOP really wanted was Merle Hall, a wealthy Walnut Creek councilman who was not eligible because he had not been in the party long enough.

District 9 (64%D-23%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Nicholas Petris and Angus L. Loop Jr. Republicans: Todd L. Roust and Austin Thompson. Peace and Freedom: Elaine Kuehn. All are from Oakland.
Petris' primary opponent, supported by Lyndon LaRouche, poses no threat.

District 11 (46%D-41%R) — Republicans: Marz Garcia of Menlo Park, Tom Huening of San Mateo, Rebecca Q. Morgan of Los Altos Hills, Dan O'Keefe of Cupertino and Inge Swaggart of Belmont. Democrats: Arlen Gregorio of Menlo Park and James Shields of San Mateo. American Independent Party: David Castronovo of Belmont.
This is a key race for Senate Republicans. GOP candidates Garcia and O'Keefe — former senators reapportioned out in 1981 — represent different sides in the on-going feud between party factions in the Senate. Garcia has received as much as $80,000 from moderates while O'Keefe is supported by conservative H.L. Richardson. The other major GOP candidate is Morgan, a Santa Clara County supervisor. A GOP poll in March showed Garcia with a comfortable lead over the field, and given registration figures, he would normally be considered a shoo-in come November. Not so in '84, and the reason is Gregorio, a former senator and popular San Mateo County supervisor. Gregorio attracts strong bi-partisan support, which is why that same GOP poll showed him beating Garcia.

District 13 (57%D-29%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Alfred Alquist of San Jose and Laura L. Pike of Santa Clara. Republican: Elizabeth Smullen of Santa Clara. Libertarian: Kim H. Roberts of Sunnyvale.
A laugher for Alquist whose primary opponent

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District 15 (55%D-37%R) — Democrats: Rose Ann Vuich of Tulare County and Bette T. Donaldson of Porterville. Republican: Patrick M. King of Fresno.
UFW prez Cesar Chavez promised to punish rural Democrats who voted for confirmation of ALRB general counsel David Stirling in January. She did; can he?

District 17 (53%D-33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Henry Mello of Watsonville. Republican: Stephen R. Magyar of Pacific Grove.
Mello won by a nose in '80, but reapportionment was kind and strengthened his hand. However, he is another of those pro-Stirling votes. Fortunately for him, a Chavez-supported Peace and Freedom candidate didn't run as planned, thus sparing Mello the loss of otherwise Democratic votes among farm workers and Santa Cruz' strong left-wing community. Magyar is an educator and scion of a prominent Monterey County family.

District 19 (42%D-47%R) — Republican: Incumbent Ed Davis of Chatsworth. Democrat: Andrew Earl Martin of Newhall.
Davis gained from new registration figures — as if he needed it.

District 21 (38%D-53%R) — Republicans: Incumbent Newton Russell of Glendale and Walter "Pat" Hollywood of Arcadia. Democrat: Katherine Moyd of Pasadena.
Russell returns to Sacramento.

District 23 (60%D-28%R) — Democrats: Incumbent David Roberti of Hollywood and Carol M. Ruckert of Los Angeles. Republican: Thomas Hunter Russell of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Jeff Artz and Sonia Cruz of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Ted Brown of Hollywood.
The only matter of note here is that Republican Russell is president of the gay-oriented Log Cabin Republican Club on the party's liberal wing. Figure Russell won't get much help from H.L. Richardson. Ruckert is supported by LaRouche.

District 25 (43%D-46%R) — Republicans: Incumbent H.L. Richardson of Arcadia. Democrat: Diana M. Monaghan of Apple Valley.
Thanks to redrawn districts, Richardson must acquaint himself with a lot of new territory. Fortunately for him, it's solid Republican.

District 27 (85%D-9%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Bill Greene of Los Angeles. Republican: Johnnie G. Neely of Los Angeles.
Don't look for a change.

District 29 (46%D-43%R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert Beverly of Manhattan Beach. Democrat: Suzanne G. Distaso of Torrance. Libertarian: Steve Kelley of El Segundo. Peace and Freedom: Robert Savage of Long Beach.
Redistricting put both Beverly and GOP Senator Ollie Speraw in this district, but Speraw moved south to reappear briefly in the new 37th District.

District 31 (40%D-50%R) — Republican: Incumbent William Campbell of Hacienda Heights. Democrats: Stan Caress of West Covina and Marion Hundley of Yorba Linda.
Campbell, Senate minority leader when the latest redistricting deal was cut, didn't hurt himself during the negotiations.

District 33 (58%D-33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Paul Carpenter of Cypress. Republicans: Cornelius M. Coronado Jr. of Cypress and Margaret Vineyard of Hawaiian Gardens. Peace and Freedom: Charles F. Hilfenhaus Jr. of Buena Park.
The district was tailored for Carpenter who some say has set his sights on the majority leader job. It's a toss-up on the Republican side where both are city council members: Coronado from Cypress; Vineyard from Hawaiian Gardens. In November, the only thing that could hurt Carpenter is a Reagan landslide in Orange County.

District 35 (39%D-49%R) — Republican: Incumbent John Seymour of Anaheim. Democrat: Jan Mark Dudman of Anaheim. Peace and Freedom: Kelly Schooling of Orange.
Seymour capped a successful first term by becoming the Senate's GOP caucus chairman.

District 37 (38%D-51%R) — Republican: Assemblywoman Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach. Democrat: Alice Keyser of Calexico.
It is almost unbelievable, but an open Senate seat has no primary battle in either party. Assemblywoman Bergeson preempted the GOP side by declaring early, rounding up strong party support and driving incumbent Senator Ollie Speraw — reapportioned out of his own district — into retirement. There's no primary battle for Democrats either, but that's understandable.

District 39 (41%D-44%R) — Republican: Incumbent Jim Ellis of San Diego. Democrat: Daniel W. Finnigan of La Mesa.
New registration figures show Ellis picked up nearly three percent.

Assembly: Three races to watch

For the most part, this will be a relatively peaceful primary for the Assembly. In fact, eleven of the 80-members, including seven freshmen, have no opponents filed against them thus far. Much of the peace and quiet results from the 1982 reapportionment. By giving incumbents safe districts, it discouraged challenges.

However, three races bear watching. In two, Southern California incumbents are giving up their seats (Marian Bergeson for a run at the Senate and Bruce Young for retirement) and there is a scramble for succession. In the third, Democratic incumbent Terry Goggin of San Bernardino, who has been involved in several questionable episodes, has two primary opponents, one of whom is supported by allies of conservative GOP Senator Bill Richardson.

As with the state Senate, the November election will be livelier on several fronts. Democrats will have their first shot at Don Sebastiani after his reapportionment high jinx of 1983. They'll also probably go after Bill Filante and Don Rogers. The GOP has a more ambitious hit list, including Jean Moorhead (a former colleague who became a Democrat back in 1981), Tom Hayden, Steve Clute, Dan Hauser, Pat Johnston, Jim Costa and Jack O'Connell. The preliminary outlook for November is a slight gain for Republicans from the current 48-32 Democratic edge.

District 1 (52% D-37% R) — Republican: Incumbent Stan Statham of Oak Run.
If he chooses, Statham can devote his energies to helping Senator Ray Johnson's reelection campaign.

District 2 (54% D-30% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Dan Hauser of Arcata. Republicans: Beverly A. Homan of Sebastopol and Danny Walsh of Eureka.
Republicans think Hauser is vulnerable. Walsh, a Humboldt County supervisor, is the GOP's most-likely, but he must beat Homan who barely lost the 1982 primary. New registration figures strengthen Hauser ever so slightly.

District 3 (48% D-40% R) — Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Rio Oso. Democrat: Thomas W. King of Oroville.
Democrats ran a strong candidate against Herger two years ago and still couldn't get within 15,000 votes.

District 4 (59% D-29% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Thomas Hannigan of Fairfield. Republican: Thomas Barnes of West Sacramento.
Hannigan can concentrate on other matters.

District 5 (53% D-35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jean Moorhead of Citrus Heights. Republican: Robert Timothy Leslie of Carmichael. Libertarian: Charles L. Carr of Loomis.
Moorhead was first elected to this seat in 1978 as a Republican but later switched parties. An elephant never forgets being jilted, and Republicans plan to spend plenty on behalf of Leslie, who narrowly lost a race for Sacramento County supervisor in 1980. Lack of serious GOP challenges to Connelly and Isenberg in neighboring districts mean more money and effort here.

District 6 (58% D-31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento.
Republican Stephen Fairchild took an informal poll to determine Connelly's popularity — and promptly dropped out of the race.

District 7 (53% D-36% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Norman Waters of Plymouth and Joseph Baker of Sacramento. Republican: James Head of Diamond Springs.
In 1982 Baker ran against Waters in the Democratic primary — and managed 18 percent of the vote. Head is a former Monrovia city councilman who moved to the foothills.

District 8 (52% D-38% R) — Republican: Incumbent Don Sebastiani of Sonoma. Democrats: Dennis Chuning of Napa, Mary Jadiker of Cobb and Gary Passarino of Santa Rosa.
Democrats would like nothing better than to

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dump Sebastiani after his reapportionment shenanigans, but that's a difficult task in this conservative district. Democrats think Passarino, a Santa Rosa attorney, has the best chance against Sebastiani, but he'll have to get by Jadiker, the popular Lake County party chair.

District 9 (49% D-35% R) — Republican: Incumbent William Filante of Greenbrae. Democrat: Paul Chignell of San Anselmo.

This is the most Democratic district represented by a Republican, but Filante was helped when reapportionment added Republican voting areas in Sonoma County. Chignell gave him a scare in 1982, so watch for a lot of money pumped into the rematch.

District 10 (60% D-31% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Phil Isenberg and James Cleveland of Sacramento.

Isenberg's Republican opponent failed to qualify but has gone to court to get on the ballot. Cleveland is a political daffodil who sprouts at every election.

District 11 (66% D-22% R) — Democrats: Robert Campbell of Richmond and Daniel Leonard of Concord.

Campbell's opponent is a LaRouche candidate who poses no problem.

District 12 (60% D-25% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bates of Oakland. Republican: John Doyle O'Shei. Libertarian: Fred Foldvary of Berkeley. Peace and Freedom: Lewis Shireman of Piedmont.

A solid district for Bates. O'Shei is a 19-year-old student at UC-Berkeley.

District 13 (72% D-16% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Elihu Harris of Oakland.

Recent registration figures show Democrats gaining strength.

District 14 (64% D-25% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Johan Klehs of San Leandro. Republicans: Bruce Bergondy of Hayward, Curtis Jones of Oakland and Vera Ruelas of Hayward.

Klehs' 1982 opponent — Ann Duncan of Hayward — ran 20 percent ahead of GOP registration. Her strong showing could account for the crowded GOP field. Bergondy, who finished a distant second in the '82 GOP primary, is expected to win this one, but he isn't as strong a bi-partisan draw as was Duncan.

District 15 (39% D-49% R) — Republican: Incumbent William Baker of Danville. Democrat: John Bauer of Orinda.

A strong, safe seat for Baker.

District 16 (68% D-15% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Art Agnos. Republicans: Gordon Bloyer and Max Woods. Libertarian: Robert da Prato. All are from San Francisco.

Agnos defeated Bloyer 82-18 percent in 1982.

District 17 (62% D-20% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Willie L. Brown Jr. and Michael Hodgkiss. Republicans: Lee Dolson and Donald Donaldson. All are from San Francisco.

Brown's primary opponent, his first in years, is another LaRouche candidate. Of the GOP candidates, Dolson, a former San Francisco supervisor, is expected to win over Donaldson, a member of the county central committee. As usual, there should be no problems for the Assembly speaker.

District 18 (57% D-28% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Alister McAlister of Fremont. Republican: Martin Leo Mehan of Fremont. Libertarian: John Webster of San Jose.

Not much of a challenge for McAlister.

District 19 (62% D-25% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Louis Papan of Millbrae and Donald Kilber of San Francisco. Republicans: Robert Bacci and Robert Silvestri, both of San Francisco.

The chairman of Assembly Rules is safe from these opponents — if not from Paul Gann's initiative. Kilber is associated with LaRouche.

District 20 (46% D-42% R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert Naylor of Menlo Park. Democrat: Arthur Lepore of Millbrae.

Naylor can concentrate on targeting Democrats.

District 21 (53% D-31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher of Palo Alto. Republicans: Reynold Schweickhardt of Palo Alto and Morley Wingrove of Sunnyvale. Libertarian: Ross Parlette of Sunnyvale. Peace and Freedom: Frank DeSio of Redwood City.

Democratic registration here has increased of late, making this seat even safer for Sher.

District 22 (43% D-44% R) — Republican: Incumbent Ernest Konnyu of Saratoga. Libertarian: Andrew Fleisher of Cupertino.

Konnyu toyed with seeking a Senate seat in the new 11th District but decided not to enter an already crowded field. The lack of a Democratic primary battle is no guarantee Konnyu won't be opposed by a Democrat come November. Their write-in candidate polled 37 percent of the vote against him in 1982.

District 23 (63% D-24% R) — Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos of Santa Clara. Republican: Michael Faber of San Jose.

Vasconcellos, who recently gained three percent in Democratic registration, has an easy time — again.

District 24 (56% D-31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Dominic Cortese of San Jose. Republican: Jack Sandoval of San Jose.

Cortese buried Sandoval in 1982.

District 25 (56% D-32% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Rusty Areias of Los Banos. Libertarian: Mark Hinkle of San Jose.

This district has solidified behind freshman Areias. The only dark cloud on his horizon is a potential write-in come November.

District 26 (59% D-32% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Patrick Johnston of Stockton. Republican: Douglass Wilhoit Jr. of Stockton.

No primary battles, but this shapes up as the hottest central valley race of 1984. The district is marginal, and Governor Deukmejian won it big two years ago. That enticed Wilhoit into the fray. Republicans feel the popular San Joaquin County supervisor can beat Johnston who, it must be remembered, won this seat in 1980 on a recount and had a weak opponent in 1982.

District 27 (56% D-35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Gary Condit of Ceres.

Republicans were expected to challenge for this district. But after a poor showing by their write-in candidate in 1982, they had trouble rounding up a solid contender.

District 28 (52% D-32% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel. Republican: Lester Rate of Santa Cruz.

In 1982 Farr ran farther ahead of district registration than any other Democrat in a contested race. Although ostensibly a marginal district, Farr is popular and hard-working enough to make this a safe seat.

District 29 (43% D-44% R) — Republican: Incumbent Eric Seastrand of Salinas.

Seastrand didn't even draw an opponent this year.

District 30 (62% D-29% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jim Costa of Fresno. Republican: J. Gordon Kennedy of Madera.

Republicans are prepared to spend to oust Costa in November. Their main man, Kennedy, is a Madera County supervisor.

District 31 (60% D-31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Bruce Bronzan of Fresno.

Republicans thought they had a chance to upend Bronzan come November but their candidate, Michael der Manouel of Fresno, failed to file nomination papers. Hence, Bronzan gets a free ride back to Sacramento.

District 32 (48% D-43% R) — Republicans: Incumbent William Jones of Fresno. Democrat: Robert Dahlstedt of Visalia.

Freshman Jones has been one of the GOP's bright spots. His first reelection should be a breeze.

District 33 (56% D-36% R) — Republican: Don Rogers of Bakersfield. Democrat: Eldon Eugene Tackett of McFarland.

Rogers won a 1700-vote cliff-hanger in 1982, but the recent redistricting helped him dramatically by upping his GOP registration from 29 to 36 percent. Still, this is a marginal district for any Republican and some think Kern County Supervisor Gene Tackett could prove a formidable opponent even though he lost big to Chip Pashayan in a 1982 race for Congress.

District 34 (51% D-39% R) — Republican: Phil Wyman of Tehachapi. Democrats: Kenneth Dean of Studio City, Cindy Shaw O'Connor of Bishop and Earl Sherburn of Palmdale.

Wyman was weakened in the same redistricting that aided Rogers, but not enough to cause real harm.

District 35 (51% D-34% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Jack O'Connell of Carpinteria and Enrique Petris of Oxnard. Republicans: John Carpenter of Santa Barbara and A. Ray Young of Carpinteria.

Republicans thought they had this district in 1982, but their candidate blew the campaign. The GOP is back with a new candidate and has made O'Connell's defeat a top priority. Most likely, it will be Carpenter, the long-time Santa Barbara County sheriff.

District 36 (42% D-45% R) — Republican: Incumbent Tom McClintock of Newbury Park.

McClintock is home free.

District 37 (44% D-45% R) — Republican: Incumbent Cathie Wright of Simi Valley.

No Democratic assaults planned for this GOP fortress.

District 38 (46% D-45% R) — Republican: Incumbent Marian LaFollette of Woodland Hills. Democrats: Marshall Goldberg of Northridge and Linda Nelson of Burbank.

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LaFollette should have no problems now that her old nemesis — Democrat Steve Afriat — is not running.

District 39 (59% D-31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Katz of Sepulveda. Republicans: Robert Kerns of Northridge, Robert Mannon of Arleta, Celia Moore of Panorama City, and Robert Thoreson of Northridge.

This is a conservative district, strengthened ever so slightly for Katz in the latest redistricting plan. He won handily here in 1982, but drew a crowd of GOP challengers this time around. However, none of the GOP candidates was recruited by the Republican leadership, who consider Katz untouchable.

District 40 (58% D-31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bane of Tarzana. Republican: Helen Gabriel of Van Nuys. Libertarian: Glenda Bull of North Hollywood.

Bane blew away his GOP opposition in 1982.

District 41 (41% D-51% R) — Republican: Incumbent Patrick Nolan of Glendale. Democrat: John Vollbrecht of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Robert Gerringer of Pasadena. Peace and Freedom: Patricia Bennett of Glendale.

Nolan ran unopposed in 1982 and has the same worry this year.

District 42 (42% D-50% R) — Republican: Incumbent Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia. Democrat: Jo Smith of San Gabriel.

Mountjoy defeated Smith by 40,000 votes in 1982.

District 43 (56% D-34% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Gray Davis of Los Angeles. Republican: Robert "Bert" Malouf of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Taylor Rhodes of Beverly Hills.

The only thing to be decided is how long Davis wants to remain in the Assembly.

District 44 (59% D-29% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Tom Hayden of Santa Monica, Alex Cota of Los Angeles and Kevin Zondervan of Hawthorne. Republican: David Shell of Santa Monica. Libertarian: Neal Donner of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: James Sommer of Venice.

Hayden again faces opposition in both the primary and general elections, but his only real worry is November. His main primary opponent is Zondervan who is funded by LaRouche. Shell has solid GOP bloodlines. His father is former Assembly minority leader Joe Shell who opposed Richard Nixon for the 1962 gubernatorial nomination. Sister Barbara Shell Stone of Whittier ran a close second in the 52nd District GOP primary in 1982 and his step-mother is mayor of Bakersfield.

District 45 (60% D-28% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Burt Margolin of North Hollywood and Scott Gaulke of Hollywood. Republican: Andrew Jelmert of Los Angeles. Libertarian: George Abrahams of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Janet Johnstone of Los Angeles.

Comfortable territory for freshman Margolin, a Waxman-Berman protege. Gaulke is a LaRouche candidate.

District 46 (60% D-27% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Mike Roos. Republican: Ted Knoll. Libertarian: M. K. "Bud" Bates. Peace and Freedom: John O'Brien and Albert R. Gonzales. All are from Los Angeles.

Revelations about Roos' connections with Orange County fireworks magnate W. Patrick Moriarty won't derail his reelection train.

District 47 (84% D-10% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Teresa Hughes of Los Angeles. Republican: William Sanderson of Los Angeles.

Hughes' general election opponent in 1982 ran two percent ahead of GOP registration in the district.

District 48 (85% D-10% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. Republicans: Ezola Foster of Los Angeles and Donald Weiss of South Gate.

The only question here is why two Republicans would battle to face Waters in the fall.

District 49 (73% D-18% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Gwen Moore and Will Wright. Republican: Jordan Daniels Jr. All are from Los Angeles.

Wright provides negligible opposition to Moore in the primary. As for Daniels, he ran against Moore in 1982 — and lost by 50,000 votes.

District 50 (77% D-16% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Curtis Tucker and Paul DeVan of Los Angeles. Republican: G. James Coleman of Inglewood.

Tucker's only real challenge is in the primary — and there isn't much there, either.

District 51 (42% D-47% R) — Republican: Incumbent Gerald Felando of San Pedro. Democrats: Jon Mercant of Redondo Beach and Doris Tate of Rancho Palos Verdes. Libertarian: Gregory Gilmore of Manhattan Beach.

Felando will be back in Sacramento.

District 52 (47% D-44% R) — Republican: Incumbent Frank Hill of Whittier.

A safe playground for incumbent Hill.

District 53 (64 D-25% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Floyd of Hawthorne. Republican: Wally Mueller of Carson.

Floyd demolished Mueller in 1982.

District 54 (68% D-25% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Frank Vicencia of Bellflower. Republican: Randolph Decker of Lakewood.

Vicencia's 1982 Republican opponent got 33 percent of the vote.

District 55 (68% D-21% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Richard Alatorre and Maureen Pike of Los Angeles. Republicans: Kevin Long of Los Angeles and Keith Marsh of Highland Park. Libertarian: Arthur Rubin of Los Angeles.

One of the quieter primary seasons in East Los Angeles. Pike is a LaRouche candidate who won't trouble Alatorre.

District 56 (79% D-12% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Gloria Molina of Los Angeles. Republican: Donald Hyde of Los Angeles.

The One-Drubbing-Is-Not-Enough Award to Donald Hyde who ran against Molina in 1982 — and nabbed 16 percent of the vote.

District 57 (64% D-25% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Dave Elder of Long Beach. Republican: Antonio Inocentes of Long Beach. Peace and Freedom: Max Gundersheimer of Long Beach.

The Democratic part of Long Beach — a safe haven for Dave Elder.

District 58 (44% D-44% R) — Republican: Incumbent Dennis Brown of Signal Hill. Democrats: Gilbert Saldana of Avalon and Marc Wilder of Long Beach. Peace and Freedom: Sally Michael of Long Beach.

An earlier reapportionment helped Brown by giving him a section of Orange County to add to the GOP part of Long Beach. Wilder, a Long Beach councilman, can raise a significant amount of money in the district, and he'll need every cent to overcome those registration numbers.

District 59 (66% D-26% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Charles Calderon of Montebello. Republican: Barbara Kee of Alhambra.

Easy going again for Calderon.

District 60 (64% D-27% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Sally Tanner of El Monte. Republicans: Henry Barela, A. Ben Hagen and Elizabeth Van Note, all of El Monte.

A recent poll in this 54 percent Hispanic district showed that a strong Democratic Latino could beat Tanner. One such candidate bowed out at the last minute due to family problems. As a result, Tanner will skate back to Sacramento.

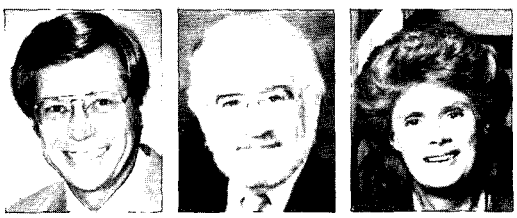
District 61 (44% C-44% R) — Republican: Incumbent Bill Leonard of Loma Linda. Democrat: Dolores Kossman of Grand Terrace. American Independent Party: Margie Hart of Barstow.

Leonard can concentrate on being vice-chair of Ways and Means.

District 62 (45% D-46 R) — Republican: Incumbent William Lancaster of Covina. Democrat: Richard Santell of West Covina. Libertarian: Mary Jo McConnaghy of Covina.

Lancaster, who will win his seventh term in November, is the senior Republican in the Assembly. He beat Santell by 37,000 votes in 1982.

District 63 (62% D-30% R) — Democrats: Lou Banas of Norwalk, Luis Escontrias of Santa Fe Springs, Robert Feliciano of Downey, Charles Fuentes of Norwalk, James van Horn of Artesia, Humberto Lujan of Norwalk, George Medina of Cerritos, Peter Ohanesian of Downey, Gilbert Roman of Norwalk, and Marshall Story and Dianne Xitco of Cerritos. Republicans: Wayne Grisham of Norwalk, Barry Rabbitt of Cerritos and Dorothy Richard of Downey.



RABBITT VAN HORN XITCO

This became a wide-open primary when, at the last minute, incumbent Bruce Young decided not to run. Although registration favors Democrats, this is conservative, blue-collar country where Reagan and Deukmejian ran well. Because each party feels it can win in the fall, both primaries have attracted heavy-

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weight candidates. Of the 11 Democrats, Xitco seems to be the strongest. Back in 1976, she was elected to serve out Young's term on the ABC School Board after he moved to the Assembly. She's been there since, building name-recognition throughout the area. Well-heeled, she is thought to have access to Young's campaign organization — and perhaps to some of his money. Her main opposition comes from Story, a union activist with strong ties to labor, and from van Horn, an Artesia councilman. The GOP field is smaller — but no less credentialed. The early favorite is Grisham, a two-term congressman who lost a reapportionment-forced, incumbents-only congressional primary to Dave Dreier in 1982. He'll have plenty of opposition from two candidates: Richard, a well-respected fund raiser and party activist who had filed to run against Young; and Rabbitt, a wealthy Cerritos councilman. Regardless of who wins in June, look for both sides to pour a lot of money into the November race.

District 64 (41% D-49% R) — Republican: Incumbent Ross Johnson of La Habra. Democrat: Mary Bruns Capdevielle of Fullerton.

Johnson has a November opponent, but not a challenge.

District 65 (48% D-41% R) — Republican: Incumbent Charles Bader of Pomona. Democrat: Harold Jackson Jr. of Pomona.

Freshman Bader was helped immensely by reapportionment.

District 66 (62% D-26% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Terry Goggin of San Bernardino, Gerald Eaves of Rialto and John D. Hobbs of San Bernardino. Republicans: Robert Henley of San Bernardino. Peace and Freedom: Howard Louks of Bloomington.

Goggin is once again beset with political problems, including an on-going FPPC investigation and revelations in the local press about his personal business affairs. The GOP almost knocked him off in 1982 with a write-in

EAVES

GOGGIN

candidate who was not very strong. This year, he's attracted some Democratic opponents as well. Eaves, the mayor of Rialto, is a conservative supported by political allies of GOP state Senator H. L. Richardson. He plans to spend up to $150,000 against Goggin. Hobbs is a black former city councilman from San Bernardino. On the GOP side, Henley is a wealthy former San Bernardino councilman.

District 67 (35% D-54% R) — Republican: Incumbent John Lewis. Democrat: Carl Ray Anderson. Peace and Freedom: Kathrin Abercrombie. All are from the city of Orange.

The second most Republican district in California.

District 68 (55% D-33% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Steve Clute and Robert Costello. Republican: Gil Olivarria. All are from Riverside.

Clute will easily win his primary. November is another story. He had a tough fight in 1982, and the GOP thinks it has another strong shot this year with Olivarria, a Riverside police lieutenant. Assembly Republicans will give him plenty of help.

District 69 (39% D-48% R) — Republican: Incumbent Nolan Frizzelle of Huntington Beach. Democrat: Howard Gensler of Huntington Beach.

Frizzelle has a comfortable home in this district.

District 70 (31% D-57% R) — Democrats: Steven Feldman of Laguna Hills, Eugene V. Hunt of El Toro and Jim Thorpe of San Juan Capistrano. Republicans: Ken Carpenter, Ron Cordova, John F. Dean, Stanford Green and Ruthelyn Plummer of Newport Beach, Gil Ferguson of Balboa Island and Merl "Ted" Doty of Mission Viejo.

Assemblywoman Marian Bergeson is running for the state Senate, leaving in her wake the

CARPENTER

CORDOVA

state's most expensive primary. Since the GOP winner will win in the fall, watch for more than $1 million to be spent by its four main hopefuls: Cordova, a Democrat-turned-Re-

FERGUSON

PLUMMER

publican, is a former assemblyman; Carpenter, son of former state Senator (now lobbyist) Dennis Carpenter, has campaigned full-time for a year and lined up an impressive list of endorsements (among them — former President Gerald Ford and Orange County Supervisor Bruce Nestande); Plummer is a Newport Beach councilwoman with good name recognition in the district's two biggest voting blocs — Newport Beach and the retirement community at Leisure World; and Ferguson, a retired Marine officer and vice-president of the Irvine Company, is a conservative party activist with solid contacts in the business community. John Dean is not the John Dean. On the Democratic side, Hunt is supported by LaRouche.

District 71 (48% D-41% R) — Republican: Incumbent Doris Allen of Westminster. Democrats: John Kanel of Cypress and Milton Krieger of Garden Grove.

Allen faces her first reelection since defeating incumbent Chet Wray in 1982. If that victory was anti-Wray rather than pro-Allen, she could face a tough fight from either Kanel, a Cypress city councilman, or Krieger, a Garden Grove councilman.

District 72 (55% D-32% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Robinson of Santa Ana. Republican: Richard Longshore of Santa Ana.

Longshore came within 12 percent of Robinson in 1982 but was helped by a GOP tide in Orange County. He'll need a Reagan landslide to catch Robinson this time.

District 73 (45% D-44% R) — Republican: Incumbent David Kelley of Idyllwild. Democrat: S. R. "Al" Lopez of Corona.

This desert district is a desert for Democrats.

District 74 (35% D-51% R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert Frazee of Carlsbad. Democrat: Gene Ramos of Oceanside.

Frazee has an opponent in 1984, but the match-up is about as equal as one between the '27 Yankees and '62 Mets.

District 75 (36% D-47% R) — Republican: Incumbent Joyce "Sunny" Mojonnier of Encinitas. Democrat: Richard Wildman Jr. of La Jolla.

Mojonnier's toughest fight was the primary in 1982. Nothing pending will replace it in her scrapbook.

District 76 (37% D-50% R) — Republican: Incumbent William Bradley of Escondido. Democrat: Harold Polesetsky of Escondido.

Bradley returns to Sacramento come November.

District 77 (41% D-45% R) — Republican: Incumbent Larry Stirling of San Diego.

Stirling is unopposed — again.

District 78 (47% D-36% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Lucy Killea. Republicans: Patrick Boarman and Caryl Iseman. Libertarian: Fritz Sands. All are from San Diego.

Killea, a former vice-mayor of San Diego, got a slight helping hand from reapportionment, but this is still a marginal district with 13 percent of the registration listed as "declined to state." Of her potential GOP opponents, Boarman, a San Diego County supervisor, is considered the strongest candidate.

District 79 (60% D-26% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Peter Chacon. Republicans: Alan Giesen, Shirley Gissendanner and Raymond Ramos. Libertarian: Donna Tello. All are from San Diego.

Why would so many Republicans battle it out to face Chacon in San Diego's only solidly Democratic district?

District 80 (54% D-34% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Steve Peace of La Mesa.

Dodge-of-the-Year Award to Peace. Democratic registration here is marginal at best, and a good portion of those Democrats are Hispanic. Peace was supposedly in trouble with the farm-workers union, but his UFW-associated primary opponent dropped out at the last minute. Republicans reportedly were ready to pour in money for the fall, but their candidate failed to turn in nomination papers. Hence Peace returns unscathed unless Republicans mount a determined write-in campaign.

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DEMOCRATS' YEAR OF THE DELEGATE

A complete list of delegate-candidates for Hart, Mondale, LaRouche and Jackson

For Democrats, this is the year of the delegate. Instead of voting directly for presidential candidates in the June 5th primary, Democrats will choose from among some 1000 names to select 209 persons who will become delegates to the national convention. Although each delegate will be pledged to a particular candidate (Indeed, each was named by that candidate) there is nothing in the law that says the delegate must vote for that candidate in San Francisco. (See *CJ*, December 1983.)

Separate elections will be held in each of the state's 45 congressional districts, with each district choosing from three to eight delegates. If a district is to elect five delegates, for instance, the voter may choose all five from one candidate's slate or may pick and choose among all names on the ballot.

After the primary, the 209 winners will meet to name the remaining members of California's 345-member delegation. Generally speaking, the "add-ons" will be awarded to candidates in proportion to the numbers won in the election.

Secretary of State March Fong Eu reports that five Democratic candidates filed delegate slates before the March 14th deadline: John Glenn, Gary Hart, Jesse Jackson, Lyndon LaRouche and Walter Mondale. Although Glenn's delegates will appear on the ballot, he has dropped out of the race and his names are omitted here. If any Glenn delegates are elected in June, they in effect will be unpledged.

Following is a list of delegate candidates by congressional district. Counties included in each district are listed in parentheses.

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

DISTRICT 1: *(Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino and parts of Lake, Napa and Sonoma)*

HART: Julie Fukerson, John Newmeyer, Ione Lowery, Jess Hess, Susan Wilkinson, William Trowbridge.

JACKSON: Mary Moore, Miguel Garcia, Mary Hoffman-Petty, Michael Harris, Jeanne McNamara.

LAROUCHE: David Funderburg, Pamela Chambers, William Long, Clara Honsvick, Max Vance, Bobbi Moyer.

MONDALE: Arthur Harwood, Loretta Mahoney, Thomas Golden, Roberta Hollowell, Timothy Smith, Diane Shugart.

DISTRICT 2: *(Butte, Colusa, Sutter, Tehama, Yuba, Shasta, Glenn, Trinity, Siskiyou and parts of Lake, Napa and Nevada)*

HART: Jane Dolan, Robert Mulholland, Barbara Gard, Kathleen McCullough, Shelton Enochs.

JACKSON: Juan Garcia, Brenda Harris, Dick Bjork, Shauna Love.

LAROUCHE: Daniel Ferguson, Ruth Gruber, Paul Thornburg, Betty Bumpus, Douglas Boring.

MONDALE: Ann Procter, George Shaw, Sara Price, Al Byer, Sylvia Mayo.

DISTRICT 3: *(Urban Sacramento)*

HART: Jerry Seedborg, Evelyn D'Agostino, James Tucker, Karin Ramsey, Steven Thompson.

JACKSON: Edward Smeloff, Rosalinda Palacios, Lester Riggins, Maria Johnston.

LAROUCHE: Marion Sturgis, Barbara McIlwain, Gregory Leach, John Schnabel, Eddie Bottallo.

MONDALE: Illa Collin, Joe Serna Jr., Alice Huffman, Thomas Kenny, Nancy Akabori.

DISTRICT 4: *(Yolo and parts of Solano and Sacramento)*

HART: Barry Keene, Amy King, Thomas Hannigan, Mary Major, Jonathan Lewis, Diane Truly, Thomas Tomasi.

JACKSON: Grantland Johnson, Edna Mayhand, David Fontaine, Sandra Simpson, Howard Jennings Jr.

LAROUCHE: Leonardo Hill, Pamela White, Sherman Smith, Mildred Rose, Phyllis Melton, Anna DiNicola, Marcella Gaball.

MONDALE: Cecily Motley, William Carrol, Cynthia Baker, James Evans, Rachael Joseph, Roger Dickinson, Shirley Forrest.

DISTRICT 5: *(San Francisco)*

HART: Harry Britt, Rebecca Varner, John Holtzclaw, Doris Thomas, Clifford Lee, Constance O'Connor, Jon Kouba, Barbara Torell.

JACKSON: Dr. Howard Gloyd, Rev. Amos Brown, Mabel Teng, George Raya, Marie Parks, Ben Madrid.

LAROUCHE: Brian Lantz, Evelyn Lantz, David Kilber, Susan Kilber, Michael Hodgkiss, Judy Huffman, Andrew Klein, Andrea Ingraham.

MONDALE: Doris Ward, Sal Rosselli, Lucy Blake, Timothy Twomey, Linda Post, Jack Trujillo, Carol Migden, Catherine Dodd.

DISTRICT 6: *(Marin, and parts of San Francisco, Sonoma and Solano)*

HART: Barbara Sklar, Stephen Williams, Barbara Kondylis, Paul Albritton, Marcia Hunt, Richard Hongisto, Gwenn Craig, John Maher.

JACKSON: Cynthia Choy Ong, Donna Kotake, Beatrice Duncan, Octavious Oneal, Frank Scott, Richard Abrahams.

LAROUCHE: James Legare, Juanita Collins, John Merrill, Anne Johnson, Harry Heim, Mary Thweatt, Joseph MacDonald, Barbara Miller.

MONDALE: Gail Wilhelm, John Molinari, Carol Peltz, Bill Thurston, Louise Minnick, Martin Eber, Lorna Strand, Neil Eisenberg.

DISTRICT 7: *(Contra Costa)*

HART: Sunne McPeak, Robert Campbell, Melody Weintraub, Ronald Vera, Mary Rocha, Guy Bjerke, Dianne Christofferson.

JACKSON: Ida Cross, Bobbie Arnold, Kennard Williams, Deborah Holloway, Hank Royal.

LAROUCHE: Daniel Leonard, Beverly Tobin, Richard Tobin, Arlene Holland, Charles West, Merle Meyers, Charles Allen, Jr.

MONDALE: Bert Coffey, Diane Longshore, George Livingston, Marilyn Talken, Raymond Johnson, Mila Nues, Minot Tripp.

DISTRICT 8: *(Contra Costa)*

HART: Margaret Amoureix, Tom Bates, Iris Mitgang, Darrell Carter, Hilary Mine, Gayle Eads, Brad Inman, Marilee Hanson.

JACKSON: Barbara Lubin, Helen Burke, Anita Williams, Barbara Chisom, Ying Kelly, Gerald Baptiste.

LAROUCHE: Fred Lehmkuhl, Mary Lintner, Angus Loop Jr., Marian Swinford, Anthony deCesare, Ruth Feirich, Mike Antoniades, Maria Bouras.

MONDALE: Betty Smith, Evelio Grillo, Patricia Pinada, David Andrews, Clara Provost, Roger Gooden, Susan Hone, Bobbie Williams.

DISTRICT 9: *(Alameda)*

HART: Cathie Brown, Michael Sweeney, Linda Perry, Forrest Walker, Maria Ochoa, Jana Pantazelos, Kenneth Geppert.

JACKSON: Patricia Hirota, Jay Mahler, Pamela Anderson, Mike Kessler, Gloria Wilson.

LAROUCHE: Darrel Anderson, Perle Anderson, Leigh Waddell, Myrtle McCoy, Ross Bromberg, Zondra Kilpatrick, Barbara Gaipa.

MONDALE: Bill Lockyer, Mary King, Alex Giuliani, Deanna Espina,

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Robert Miller Sr., Betty Christie, William Brooks.

DISTRICT 10: *(Parts of Alameda and Santa Clara)*

HART: Dan McCorquodale, Julianne Mezei, Flo Miranda, Paula Leitch, Louie Barozzi, Rocio Fierro, John Collins.

JACKSON: Wayne Phillips Sr., Julie Hatta, Dora Castro, Carmen Gutieriez, Gabriel Miramontes.

LAROUCHE: Lynn Fooks, Sandra Welge, Thomas Harlow, Mary Halvorsen, Thomas Hooks, Mary Fagundes, Jose Fagundes.

MONDALE: Susan Hammer, Fernando Chavez, Iola Williams, Robert Bettencourt, Delaine Eastin, Antonia Estremera, E. Milirides.

DISTRICT 11: *(San Mateo)*

HART: David Caldwell, Stacy Sher, Robert Yee, Roberta Teglia, Richard Haffey, Suzanne Bayer, Kevin Dunleavy.

JACKSON: Janet Wells, Clifford Boxley, Lormine Wilson, Victor Hsi, Rubin Abrica.

LAROUCHE: Lawrence Schenk, Queen Evans, Henry Montano, Dolores Salcedo, Robert Howson, Katherine Fischer, Richard Bontempi.

MONDALE: Jackie Speier, Fred Lyon, Mary Griffin, Will Holsinger, Alice Bulos, R. D. Anderson Jr., Rayna Lehman.

DISTRICT 12: *(Parts of San Mateo, Santa Clara and Santa Cruz)*

HART: Regis McKenna, Beth Wyman, Jeff Phillips, Carley Smith, Stephen Wozniak.

JACKSON: Keith Archuleta, Grace Solazar, Emil Thomas, Michael Pon.

LAROUCHE: Richard Mattoon, Audry McKee, Wayne Thomas, Julienne Morgan, Ralph Hogan.

MONDALE: Robert Trent Jones, Anna Eshoo, Ralph Flynn, Karen Lowenstern, Dean Monroe.

DISTRICT 13: *(Santa Clara)*

HART: John Vasconcellos, Sherri Sager, Joseph Wilson, Dee Dickson, Patricia Carlson, Shirley Clyde, Richard Torres.

JACKSON: Abdul Dogar, Patricia Jones, Matthew Weaver, Cheryl Hunter, Arnold Hart.

LAROUCHE: Laura Pike, Howard Powers, Gloria Fitch, James Showman, Victoria Caulfield-Showman, Robert Strong, Betty Duncan.

MONDALE: George Soares, Susanne Wilson, Jerry Estruth, Julianne Sabodin, John Neece, Consuelo Killins, Edmond Foglia.

DISTRICT 14: *(Modoc, Lassen, Alpine, Amador, El Dorado, Placer, Plumas, Sierra and parts of Nevada and San Joaquin)*

HART: Vanda Cecchini, Marvin Marks, Sally Hudson, Charles Shook.

JACKSON: Glee Hubbard, W. Arthur Raab, Pat Lenhart.

LAROUCHE: Jack Hornsby, Jane Stelpstra, David Stelpstra, Norman Morin.

MONDALE: Ramon Desagun, Candace Blue, Boone Robinson, Kathleen Clancy.

DISTRICT 15: *(Mariposa, Merced and Stanislaus, and parts of Fresno)*

HART: Gwen Caldeira, Darrell Fonseca, Beatrice Lynch, Richard Marino, Sally Magnani, Steven Zagaris, Marnelle White.

JACKSON: Jay Childs, Nina Harper, Bernard Huston, Jeanne Wimbley, Clematee Meredith.

LAROUCHE: Mary Lou Vedo, Thomas Henry, Helen Gregg, Gary Griffin Sr., Verma Vedo, Robert Baxter, Paula Larsen.

MONDALE: Yvette Sarnowski, Richard Patterson, Darlene Reynolds, Eugene Martinez, Carole Stark, James Johnston, Carol Davis.

DISTRICT 16: *(San Benito, Monterey and parts of Santa Cruz, and San Luis Obispo)*

HART: Sam Farr, Phyllis Price, Mike Nolan, Mary Green, Jack Baskin, Anita Arellano, John Laird.

JACKSON: Luther Wallace, Cynthia Grant, Page Smith, Mary Hsia-Coron, Delores Gomez.

LAROUCHE: Arthur Dunn, Helen Neilson, Scott Roddick, Gladys Kuntz, Joseph Hernandez, Alvie Hricko, Marjorie Mahoney.

MONDALE: Sylvia Panetta, Jerry Zellhofer, Elizabeth Moore, Theron Polite, Sarah Amos, Crecencio Padilla, Leda Jelinck.

DISTRICT 17: *(Tulare, Kings and parts of Kern and Fresno)*

HART: Hilary Ross, Joseph Altschule, Carol Brown, Pamela Wallace, Frank Ely.

JACKSON: Paul Forte Jr., Lorraine Foster, Arturo Vasquez, Janice Taylor.

LAROUCHE: Jim Grimes, Christina Nunez, Lawrence Watson, Danna Hartman, Martha Polanco.

MONDALE: Frances Range-Long, Anthony Capozzi, Linda Farsakian, Don Hunsucker, J. Frank Villegas.

DISTRICT 18: *(Calaveras, Mono, Madera, Toulumne and parts of Fresno and San Joaquin)*

HART: Bruce Bronzan, June Loring, Robert Klein, Kathryn Nixon, Barbara Fass, Diane Mendoza, Hiram DeWitt.

JACKSON: Les Kimber, Bonnie Valentine, Henry Hendrix, Waldo Porter, Michael Colbert.

LAROUCHE: Albert Sindlinger, Enella Sindlinger, Phillip Sindlinger, Betty Miya, Manuel Lopez, Cynthia Sutherland, Joanne Stewart.

MONDALE: Patrick Johnston, Sandra Carter, Mary Fierro, Chester Mucker, Virginia Sanchez, Robert Licon, Harriette Ramos.

DISTRICT 19: *(Santa Barbara and a portion of Ventura)*

HART: Gary Hart, Naomi Schwartz, Philip Marking, Louise Nussbaum, Mary Rose.

JACKSON: Xushie Bonds, William Johnson, Geraldine Leigh, Alicia Sanchez.

LAROUCHE: Douglas Long, Catherine Debelak, Clarence Foster, Sean Duncan, Mark Wolf.

MONDALE: Benjamin Bycel, Gloria Ochoa, Don Cannon, Patricia Sundberg, Marietta Goodman.

DISTRICT 20: *(Inyo and parts of Kern, San Luis Obispo and Los Angeles)*

HART: Michael LeCover, Ilene Rockman, Donald Haynes, Stephanie Theison, John Means.

JACKSON: Rev. W. E. Anthony, Irma Carson, Samuel Acosta, Christina McClanahan.

LAROUCHE: Paul Whetton, Roserio Morrison, Vernon Watson, Rebecca Aguilar, James Hopkins.

MONDALE: Kiem Tan, Arthur Shain, Inez Davis, Raymond Barney, Diane Lloyd.

DISTRICT 21: *(Parts of Ventura and Los Angeles)*

HART: Teresa DinGrando, George Webb, Vilma Garabedian, Bob Ronka.

JACKSON: Ed Burke, Ethelyn Shaw, Robert Campbell.

LAROUCHE: Dale Ragel, Carolyn Simpson, Philip Sundling, Helene Simpson.

MONDALE: Dennis Mukai, Judith Solkovits, Gilbert Saldana, Jane Pettijohn.

DISTRICT 22: *(Los Angeles — Pasadena)*

HART: MaryLou Howard, Richard Leib, Betty Keatinge, Pierce O'Donnell.

JACKSON: Mark Smith, Annette Paup, Robert Henry.

LAROUCHE: Lawrence Twedell, Ella Leja, Joseph Soliz, Marlene Hazelhurst.

MONDALE: Nelson Rising, William Wardlaw, Kathy Moyd, Diana Durham.

DISTRICT 23: *(Los Angeles — Beverly Hills)*

HART: Herschel Rosenthal, Marcia Medavoy, Gray Davis, Jane Nathanson, Sanford Weiner, Roberta Bennett, Steve Sulkes.

JACKSON: Kate Kinkade, William Perkins, Patricia Hollingsworth Ruby Maxwell.

LAROUCHE: Francis Beckett III, Antoinette Johnson, David Rogers Janice Rogers, Donald Marquis, Anita Blake, Armand Blackmore.

MONDALE: Joy Picus, Edmond Edelman, Violet Rabaya, Nick Patsaouras, Estelle Tuvman, Bruce Corwin, Lani Sakoda.

DISTRICT 24: *(Los Angeles — Hollywood)*

HART: Henry Waxman, Carmen Warschaw, Zev Yaroslavsky, Marcella Howell, Marshall Phillips, Mary Padilla, Michael Faber, Jo Yokota.

JACKSON: Rita Walters, Jackie Goldberg, Mark Rosenbaum, Sue Welsh, Javier Rodriguez, Jackie Dupont-Walker.

LAROUCHE: Khushro Ghandhi, Marianna Wertz, William Wertz Margaret Levinson, Bruce Khouri, Carol Ruckert, Patrick Ruckert, Mary Platt.

MONDALE: Michael Roos, Marjorie Green, Samuel Williams, Virginia

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Carabillo, George Hardy, Mary Nichols, Clayton Wells, Marjorie Caldwell.

DISTRICT 25: *(East Los Angeles)*

HART: Louise Anlyan, William Middleton, Linda Olivas, Richard Carron, Ann Hickambottom, Ronald Hampton, Monica DelGadillo, Elizabeth Reifsnider.

JACKSON: Leticia Rodriquez, Mike Marose, Antonio Rodriquez, Norma Navarro, Sue Embrey, Ifetayo Henry.

LAROUCHE: Maureen Pike, Tim Pike, Dorothy Andromidas, Ted Andromidas, Selena Lawyer, Sherman Williams, Melanie Lermusik, Edward Corpus.

MONDALE: Gloria Molina, Larry Gonzalez, Consuelo Nieto, Collin Lai, Leticia Quezada, Michael Yamaki, Teresa Aguerrebere, Roger Johnson.

DISTRICT 26: *(Los Angeles — Van Nuys)*

HART: Daniel Lowenstein, Hope Schechter, Jonathan Bloch, Lisa Allred, Fred Sprenger, Kathleen Silverman, Steve Nissen.

JACKSON: Deborah Taylor, Mike Sermeno, Joan Scott, Don Hearne, Judith Goldfarb.

LAROUCHE: John Weber, Shirley Roessner, Dominick Farinola, Lucille Mitchell, David Wait.

MONDALE: Edmund Brown Sr., Irene Tovar, A. E. Brown, Marnie Delaney, Rodney Diamond, Norma Vescovo, Bob Hattoy.

DISTRICT 27: *(Los Angeles — Santa Monica)*

HART: John Emerson, Alice Travis, Jonathan Steinberg, Muff Singer, Marc Bliefield, Carol Kinsey, Terry Garcia.

JACKSON: Ione Jackson, Bruce Iwasaki, Cynthia Anderson, Ricky Bell, Claire Lobel.

LAROUCHE: Rodney Sabel, Kevin Zondervan, Margaret Henry, Patrick Henry, Evelyn Charles, Dalene Siegel, Melba Yale.

MONDALE: Ken Edwards, Maureen Kindel, Sandra Farha, Ricardo Icaza, Dolores Press, William Demers, Maxine Brickman.

DISTRICT 28: *(Los Angeles — Coliseum)*

HART: Gwen Moore, Howard Welinsky, Thelma Eaton, Larry Irvin, Valerie Shaw, Alonzo Davis, Carmen Hawkins, Gregory Irish, Christine Robert, Ernest Smith.

JACKSON: Marguerite Archie-Hudson, Irene Hirano, Bishop H. H. Brookins, John Frierson, Audry Quarles, Rev. Frank Reid III, James Lewis, Jerry Pennington.

LAROUCHE: Jose Alcoset, Dorice Jamieson, John O'Brien, Alice Mestas, Gerald Wilkerson, Maria Weekes, Michael Greco Sr., Margaret Tamayo, Roberta Forrester, Theresa Ariza.

MONDALE: Kenneth Hahn, Teresa Hughes, Nate Holden, John McDonald III, Ophelia McFadden, Bondie Gambrel, Regina Render, Louis White, Jimmie Gray, Rhea Butler.

DISTRICT 29: *(Los Angeles — Watts)*

HART: Laura Minor, Perry Parks Jr., Patrica Barnes, Henry Dotson Jr., Dorothy Cox, Otis Jackson Jr., Karen Mills-Alston, Dexter Henderson, Margaret Oliveri, Melba Boles.

JACKSON: Maxine Waters, Lillian Mobley, Al Belmontez, Ed Harris, Don Stephenson, Pat Rochelle, Lindsay Sharpe, Abigail Rivera.

LAROUCHE: Ivy Brown, Anthony Chirco, Denise Eriacho, Samuel Bartha, Sophie Murphy, Paul Brent, Ruth Roadinger, James Calvert, Lynette Fredrick, Wayland Cushman.

MONDALE: Henry Gonzalez, Gloria Marigny, Russell Rhodes, Pauline Cheese, Woodrow Fleming, Maxine Hobdy, Amador Chavez, Leola Brinker, Felton Johnson, Elizabeth Eastman.

DISTRICT 30: *(Los Angeles — El Monte)*

HART: Lily Chen, Salvador Salinas, Floretta Manning, Willard Yamaguchi, Mary Gomez-Daddio, Irving Wilner, Marlene Cartter.

JACKSON: Carlos Montes, Dennis Lesinsky, Cynthia Flores, Isabel Rodriquez, Craighton Wong.

LAROUCHE: Gladys Neustrom, John Sanchez, Marian Harville, Walter Harville Jr., Cecelia Henry, Julius Feldstein, Herman Cruz, Anna Glaser.

MONDALE: Charles Calderon, Lucille Torres, Robert Morales, Geneva Vega, William Tan, Joan Acosta, Alfred Encinas.

DISTRICT 31: *(Los Angeles — Compton)*

HART: Mary Louise Custer, Roy Jenkins, Nancy Johnson, Willie Hardie, Barbara Workman, Marcine Shaw, Luella Littleton, Helen Beasley, Verna Nash.

JACKSON: Walter Tucker, Mary Henry, Ann Fields, Bert Nakano, Yvonne Day, Angela McDonald, Oscar Thompson.

LAROUCHE: Karl Parsons, Ronald Smith, JoAnn Reid, Franklin Reid, Harold Mansfield, Verna Dixon, Rex Dixon, Kathy Maldonado, Catherine Burnie.

MONDALE: Ralph Dills, Donald Dear, Ruby Watkins, Betty Ainsworth, Frances Haywood, Masani Fukai, Gwendolyn Johnson, James Byard, Dessie Gaynor.

DISTRICT 32: *(Los Angeles — Lakewood)*

HART: Gail Fisher, Louis Dominguez, Diane Nave, Mark Hannaford, Margaret Seedborg.

JACKSON: Lester Ellis, Bertha Silva, Frederick Navejas.

LAROUCHE: Rodger Bakkers, David Schweitzer, Mary Knorpp, Wayne Kramer, Frances Maroncelli.

MONDALE: John Greenwood, Shirley Guy, Clarence Gregory, Dea Langlois, Luis Mata.

DISTRICT 33: *(Los Angeles — Whittier)*

HART: Jonathan Rothman, Mary Miyashita, Frances Hasso, Darlene Pritchard.

JACKSON: Trudy Barnes, Walter West, Harold Jackson.

LAROUCHE: Paul Jeffrey, Patricia Davis, George Solis, Rebecca Jeffrey.

MONDALE: Lotus Warren, Vernon Watkins, Eleanor Vazquez, Aurelio Ruiz.

DISTRICT 34: *(Los Angeles — Norwalk)*

HART: Joseph Montoya, Ruth Gonzales, Felix Peralta, Mary Paxon, George Lujan, Linda Fengler, Andrew Proctor.

JACKSON: Edwardo Raul, Larry Wright, Fred Aguilar, Eduardo Archuleta, Corina Raigosa.

LAROUCHE: Frances Kelepecz, Donald Peters, Josephine Dominquez, Denis Hopkins, Flota Jordan, Charles Jager, Mario Luna.

MONDALE: Isabel Verver, Joe Placentia, Rickie Santell, Alexander Macksoud, Beverly Hine, Michael Reza, Gloria Vargas.

DISTRICT 35: *(Parts of San Bernardino and Los Angeles — Palmdale)*

HART: Arthur Wang, Sylvia Robles, Steven Bryant, Carmela DePrisco.

JACKSON: Wilmer Carter, Marilyn Hayes, Howland Davis.

LAROUCHE: Edward Mollohan, Peggy Duane, Robert Stewart, Lois Peruch.

MONDALE: Joyce Coleman-Maginn, Raynolds Johnson, Elva Raish, Mortin Rosenbaum.

DISTRICT 36: *(San Bernardino)*

HART: John Husing, Cecilia Resendez, Robert Parker, Esther Estrada, Preston Harrell, Nancy White, Penny Newman.

JACKSON: Hardy Brown, Lois Carson, Daniel Frazier Sr., Lillie Jackson, Ruben Herndon.

LAROUCHE: Kenneth Hallock, Anita Hallock, Howard Crawford, Marilyn Gowing, Clarence Graves, Laura Scudder, Norm Giebeler.

MONDALE: Mary Curtin, Jane Carney, Kathy Kinley, Albert Casey Jr., Gloria Harrison, Arthur Garcia, Gail Laguna.

DISTRICT 37: *(Riverside)*

HART: David Quarles, Allison Burke, Peter Scott, Grace Slocum, Michael Ryan.

JACKSON: Zelma Russ, Bruce Butler, Esther Austin, Leon Clark.

LAROUCHE: Galen Walker, Elsie Cunningham, Frank Endres, Lois Eickholt, Jerryann Devlin.

MONDALE: Jackie Suitt, Gail Fabian, Manuel Arredondo, Frank Mott, Debra Cucci.

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HART: Becky Robinson, Alan Woo, Ruby Gonzales, Jeffrey Baird, Helen Canales.

JACKSON: Mabel Singletary, Paramount Shaw, Catherine Walton, Peter Anderson.

LAROUCHE: Ruth Stephenson, Kenneth Buelteman, Janet Rang, Thomas Halligan, Elizabeth Meredith.

MONDALE: Sadie Reid, John Echeveste, Judith Perez, James Hayes, Jr., Lynda Pope.

DISTRICT 39: *(Orange — Fullerton)*

HART: James Wisely, Darlene Hibbs, Kurt Haunfelner, Barbara Hammerman.

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JACKSON: Amin David Jr., Marie Cain, Frank Bartosik.
LAROUCHE: Arthur Hoffmann, Alfreda Stapinski, Marion Hundley, Donna Ward.
MONDALE: Hazel Stover, Danton Sailor, Dolly Shultz, Robert Balgenorth.

DISTRICT 40: *(Orange — Newport Beach)*
HART: David Stein, Sally Bellerue, Ross Conner, Debra Ernst.
JACKSON: T. Leon Berry, Maureen Chaarani, Baldwin Kennan.
LAROUCHE: Robert Zintgraff, Rita Zintgraff, Douglas Hauptman Jr., Maria Maruffo.
MONDALE: Bruce Sumner, Mary Yunt, James Evans, Billie Masters.

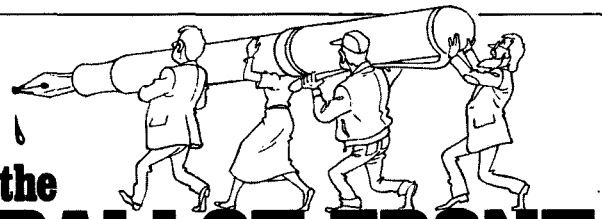
DISTRICT 41: *(San Diego — La Jolla)*
HART: Jon Scott, Gladys Palast, David Harris, Shirley Culver, John Hartley.
JACKSON: Bridget Wilson, Margaret Thornton, Lindsay Smith III, Fozi Khouri.
LAROUCHE: Peter Carlston, Linda Carlston, James Wyrick, Anna Karas, Norma Phillips.
MONDALE: Mike Gotch, Paula Siegel, Lenore Lowe, Joseph Francis, Ruth Duemler.

DISTRICT 42: *(Parts of Los Angeles and Orange — Cypress)*
HART: Sherry Baum, Stephen Smith, Harriet Williams, George Wise.
JACKSON: Margo Malone, Lawrence Montoya, Shannon Johnson.
LAROUCHE: Juergen Bless, LaVonne Lawlor, George Hanna, Luisa Tipton.
MONDALE: Renee Simon, John Foley, Debbie Anderson, Armando Ramos.

DISTRICT 43: *(Parts of Orange and San Diego)*
HART: Anita Del Rio, Herbert King, Joanne Yusi, David Lees.
JACKSON: Lloyd Goddard, Andy Pino, Charles Smith.
LAROUCHE: Kevin Schmidt, Katherine Schmidt, Eugene Hunt Jr., Richard Fitz.
MONDALE: Richard O'Neill, Lucinda Canada, Nancy Parkinson, Howard Adler.

DISTRICT 44: *(San Diego)*
HART: Peter Chacon, Jerelyn Dilno, Robert Sandler, Judith Abeles, John Barriage, Suzanne del Valle, Robert Garcia.
JACKSON: Ardelia McClure, Timothy Winters, Marva Mohr, Vernon Sukumu, Kathleen Harmon.
LAROUCHE: Georgia Irey, John Leary, Lamarjorie Harris, Larry Hansel, Doreen Johnson, Iril Toliver, Ola Toliver.
MONDALE: Wadie Deddeh, Leon Williams, Verna King, Linda La Gerette, Dorothea Contreras, A. Brad Truax, Julita David.

DISTRICT 45: *(Imperial and parts of San Diego)*
HART: Virginia Moran, Ron Trim, Virginia Powell, Antonio Jirado, Janice Gouchanour.
JACKSON: Albert Colombo, Avis Johnson, Virginia Hill, Peggy Skill.
LAROUCHE: Lawrence Rieder, Kathleen Garate, Harold Schmidt, Nancy Cunningham, Marie Byrom.
MONDALE: Janice Claussen, James Bartell, Irene Rael, Rudolfo Cardenas Jr., Evelyn Clarke.



the BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. The information in parentheses is the number of signatures required for qualification and the deadline for their submission. Measures that qualify on or before May 1, 1984, will appear on the November ballot.

New in circulation:

- **FIREARMS** — a constitutional amendment sponsored by Republican state Senator H. L. Richardson that guarantees the right to own, possess and use firearms. Existing statutes that restrict the uses of firearms are affected. (630,136, July 23rd)

Continuing in circulation:

(Fuller explanations of each measure appeared in the Journal issue specified.)

- **GAMBLING AND LOTTERIES — PUBLIC GAMING CONTROL COMMISSION** — Constitutional amendment (630,136, May 7th — *CJ* March 1984).
- **NO FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS** — Statute (393,835, May 7th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **TOBACCO EDUCATION PROGRAMS** — Statute (393,835, May 7th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **GOVERNOR'S RIGHT OF PLEBISCITE** — Constitutional amendment (630,135, May 7th — CJ March 1984)
- **LEGISLATOR COMPENSATION: BUDGET BILL ENACTMENT** — Constitutional amendment (630,136, May 10th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **AUTHORIZING PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS** — Constitutional amendment (630,136, May 10th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **LIMITS ON WELFARE AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS** — Statute (393,835, May 10th — CJ March 1984)
- **NUCLEAR FREE ZONE** — Statute (395,835, May 29th, *CJ* March 1984)
- **ENGLISH-ONLY VOTING MATERIALS** — Statute (393,835, May 29th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **RENT CONTROL: BAN ON REGULATION FOR UNITS OCCUPIED OR VACATED AFTER 1984** — Statute (393,835, May 29th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **RENT CONTROL: BAN ON FUTURE LAWS; PHASE-OUT OF CURRENT LAWS BY 1990** — Constitutional amendment (630,136, June 7th — CJ March 1984)
- **WORKFARE** — Constitutional amendment (630,136, June 11th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **RENT CONTROL: BAN ON FUTURE LAWS; NO PHASE-OUT** — Constitutional amendment (630,136, June 7th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **LOTTERY: FUNDS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION** — Constitutional amendment (630,136 June 15th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION; REAPPORTIONMENT FOR 1986** — Constitutional amendment (630,136, June 18th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **LOTTERY: FUNDS FOR HOME LOANS** — Constitutional amendment (630,136, June 25th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS** — Statute (393,835, June 26th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS** — Statute (393,835, June 26th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **AGRICULTURAL LABOR-RELATIONS ACT** — Statute (393,835, June 26th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **OPEN PRIMARY** — Statute (393,835, June 26th — *CJ* March 1984)

Petitions submitted:

BALANCED FEDERAL BUDGET — an initiative statute that requires the Legislature to send Congress a resolution calling for a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. (Signatures submitted to county clerks February 17th)

TAXATION — a constitutional amendment, sponsored by Howard Jarvis, that amends Proposition 13 of 1978 to close loopholes Jarvis claims have been opened by the courts. A similar petition was withdrawn by Jarvis in October 1983, and this version is identical to it except for technical changes in language. *(Signatures submitted to county clerks March 19th)*

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

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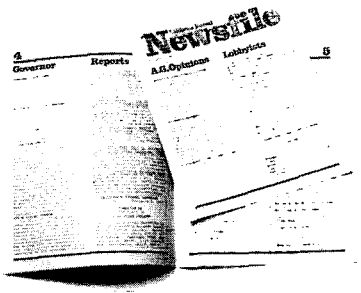

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

Why Cranston lost

After more than two years of non-stop campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination, Alan Cranston came up empty in the first delegate contests in Iowa and New Hampshire, and dropped out. The first to announce his candidacy, California's senior senator also was the first to throw in the towel. He spent $5 million, ran up $1 million in debts, but wasn't even in the game on Super Tuesday. It was a painful fadeout for a durable politician who must work quickly to repair the damage and rebuild his strength if he is to save his Senate seat in 1986.

EXPLANATIONS FOR HIS DISMAL showing are more numerous than the handful of votes he got in Iowa and New Hampshire. At a time when youthful looks turned into an asset for Gary Hart, Cranston's gaunt profile proved a major handicap. At 69, he was the oldest in the race. While he kept reminding voters that he was still several years younger than Ronald Reagan — and always would be — he never was able to erase a widespread impression that he was over the hill, at least as a presidential contender. He dyed his hair and ran commercials poking fun at his bald top and lack of charisma. Nothing seemed to work. The image got in the way of the message.

There were other reasons. From the beginning, Cranston aimed his candidacy at the liberal and moderate segements of the Democratic Party and its principal constituencies — labor, minorities, environmentalists. But the field got terribly crowded and he never found daylight. There was always somebody blocking his path. At first, it was Senator Edward Kennedy, who preempted his natural base of support. When Kennedy withdrew, it was Walter Mondale, who beat him to the AFL-CIO's endorsement. For a while, Cranston hoped John Glenn would sideline Mondale in the early going and turn the race into a Cranston-Glenn, left-versus-right showdown. It didn't happen. By the time Mondale was dealt a staggering blow in New Hampshire, Cranston was drafting his withdrawal statement. The Californian correctly predicted that Mondale's support was soft and that a second-tier candidate eventually would emerge from the pack. Except it turned out to be young, hard-charging Gary Hart, not venerable old Alan Cranston. The crowded field also worked against Cranston in other ways. Late entrants like George McGovern and Jesse Jackson narrowed his ability to mobilize minorities and the left behind his candidacy. At the end, Cranston was hemmed in so tight that he virtually disappeared from view.

The senator got into the race because he felt Reagan had become a threat to peace. Since 1945, when nuclear bombs incinerated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Cranston has been an active champion of arms-control agreements and detente with the Soviet Union. He saw Reagan's huge military buildup and strident anti-Soviet rhetoric as a radical departure from post-war efforts by both Democratic and Republican presidents to ease tensions with Moscow and reduce nuclear arsenals. Cranston also was shaken from his comfortable perch in the Senate by Reagan's assaults on social programs. After seeing first-hand the presidential imperfections of Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, he persuaded himself that he could do a better job in the White House. He looked at his own big reelection victories in 1974 and 1980 and began to feel that his vote-getting ability in California could be repeated across the country.

While the temptation to run proved irresistible, his assumed strengths were largely illusory. In California, Cranston had been the beneficiary of weak GOP opponents; the crowded Democratic presidential field had some heavyweights. Cranston managed to recruit elements of the peace movement who genuinely supported his strong emphasis on the need to reverse the nuclear arms race. But his small battalion never became an army. Mondale and Hart jumped on the nuclear-freeze bandwagon. Cranston quickly discovered there was no way he could claim a monopoly on the peace issue. His rivals stole his message and made it their own. In politics, there is no copyright protection.

Beyond these pitfalls and liabilities, there was a more fundamental weakness. During a 30-year political career, Cranston had made no splash on the national stage or seriously prepared the ground for a run at the White House. Just the opposite. In the Senate, he was the quiet insider who preferred the mediator's role to grabbing headlines. In 1976, Cranston felt so strongly about not running for national office that he asked Carter not to consider him as a possible running mate. He told Carter he had no higher ambition than staying in the Senate. His decision to run for president, made after consulting only his wife and a few close confidants, came as a bolt out of the blue. There was something jarring, even unreal, about the entire enterprise. Many friends throught it was totally out of character. They went along out of loyalty, not conviction. Cranston himself was quite serious. But the perception that his candidacy was intrinsically illogical — a momentary impulse — never disappeared and robbed his campaign of essential credibility.

IN IOWA, HE FINISHED A POOR FOURTH. A week later, in New Hampshire, he fell back to seventh. Reagan, his old nemesis, got more than twice as many votes with write-ins on the Democratic ballot. As he pulled out the following day, Cranston remarked, "I know the difference between reality and dreams. I know when to dream and when and how to count votes." Unlike Jerry Brown in 1980, Cranston did not overstay his welcome. His exit was graceful and dignified.

There has been considerable speculation that his ill-fated presidential bid may weaken him in 1986 when he plans to run for a fourth term in the Senate. But Cranston has bounced back from adversity before and there's more than enough time to mend fences back home. In the meantime, he intends to show up in San Francisco in July to force the Democratic nominee to run against Reagan on a platform pledging immediate concrete steps toward arms control. For Cranston, one fight may be over, but the cause goes on.

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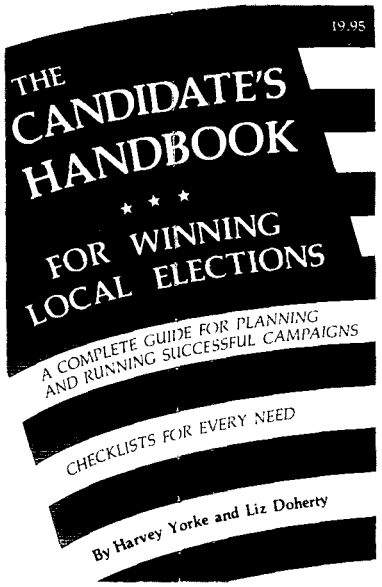

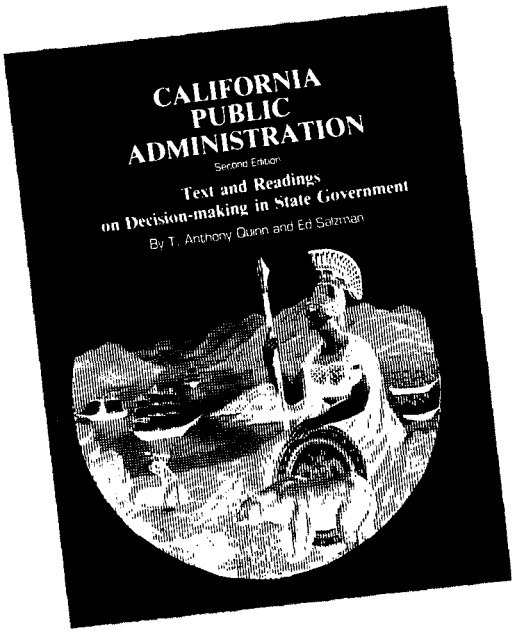

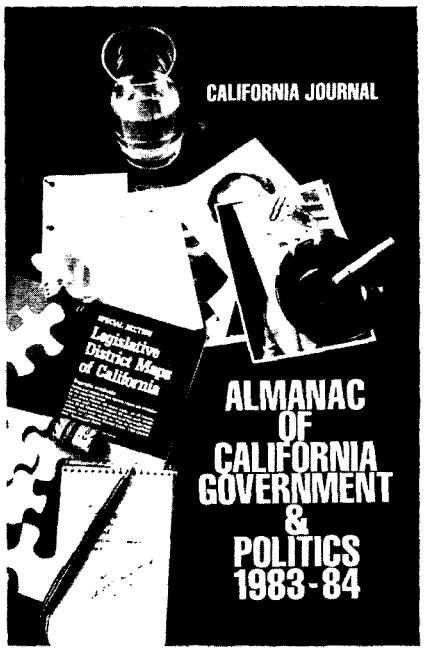

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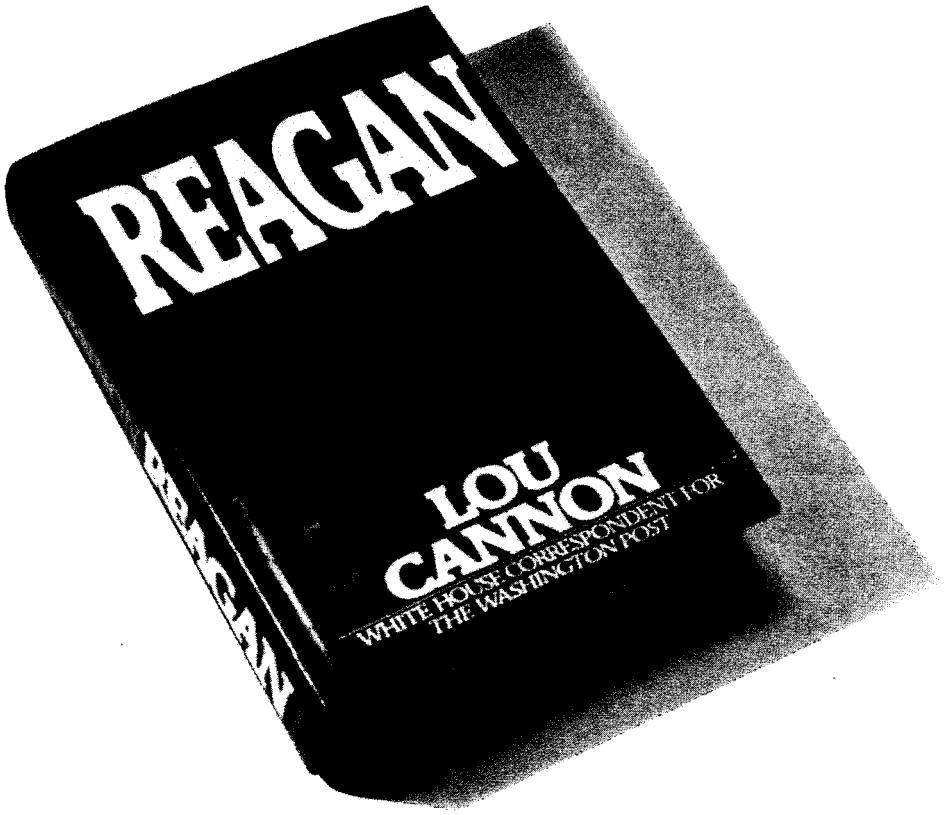

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